


INLAND TLINGIT OF TESLIN, YUKON: GAANAX̱.ÁDI AND KOOKHITTAAN CLAN  
ORIGIN STORIES FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND CLAN FAMILY OF EMMA JOANNE

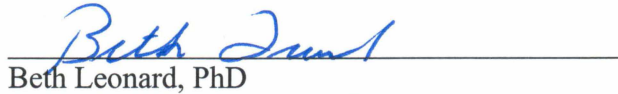
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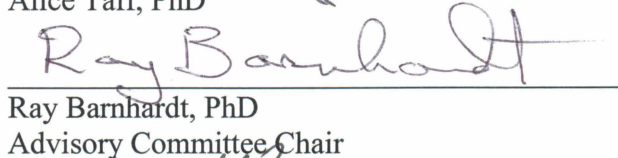
Norma Shorty

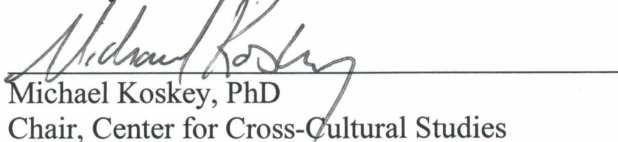
RECOMMENDED:

  
Lawrence Kaplan, PhD

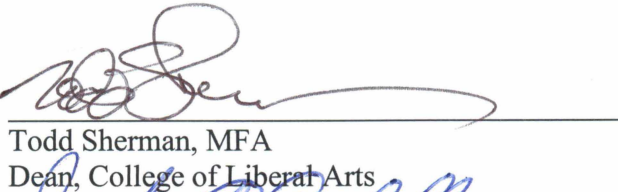
  
Beth Leonard, PhD

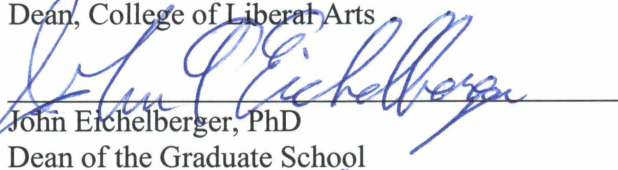
  
Alice Taff, PhD


  
Ray Barnhardt, PhD  
Advisory Committee Chair

  
Michael Koskey, PhD  
Chair, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies

APPROVED:

  
Todd Sherman, MFA  
Dean, College of Liberal Arts

  
John Eichelberger, PhD  
Dean of the Graduate School

  
Date



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SHORTY (NEE SIDNEY).

A  
THESIS

Presented to the Faculty  
of the University of Alaska Fairbanks

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Norma Shorty, B.Ed., M.Ed.

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of my research is to learn the story of Mother's clan, and to document the processes of gathering knowledge about the clan connections between the Gaanax̱.ádi and Kookhittaaan from Teslin, Yukon, Canada. The objective of this thesis is to document the stories and the story-gathering processes of published and private holdings on my Mother's clan stories. The study includes published literature from indigenous and non-indigenous historians and oral history reviews, especially on those who have knowledge about the Kookhittaaan and Gaanax̱.ádi clans and have connections to the Inland Tlingit from Teslin, Yukon. This indigenous-led research focuses on my mother and her clan stories. I am an insider and an outsider to my culture. From an insider perspective I am privileged to hear, to learn, and to retell Mother's maternal clan stories. As a result of this research, Tlingit ways of documenting history are discovered and Tlingit research (literacy) frameworks are revealed. I learned that the Kookhittaaan and Gaanax̱.ádi clans are one. Our oral history is validated by face paint designs, petroglyphs and clan shirt designs. In their published work some non-indigenous ethnographers made changes to words and designs which distorted the indigenous record. This dissertation compares all possible information sources showing the heavier weight of evidence is provided by available indigenous sources. Colonization has greatly impacted the perpetuation of indigenous knowledge systems by referring to indigenous knowledge as "traditional" because the term tradition conjures up images of living in the past.



For Mothers and Daughters

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## **Preface**

Thank you to Dr. Ray Barnhardt, Dr. Larry Kaplan, Dr. Beth Leonard and Dr. Alice Taff for your tremendous help and support during my research and writing years.

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Thank you to the late Dr. Richard Dauenhauer for being on my committee and for guidance during my research and writing years. And finally to the late Dr. Walter Soboleff and the late elder and culture bearer Cyril George, what a privilege it was to have heard you – thank you for your life’s work to ensure our stories live on.

## **Introduction: “You need to know who you are” (Teslin Tlingit Elders).**

As the eldest of four siblings I am seeking to document my mother’s clan connections to ensure that the stories and knowledge associated with her clan will live on into the future. The research will focus on my Mother’s clan because we are a matrilineal society. Due to processes of assimilation and colonization experienced by indigenous peoples here in the Yukon, many of our own clan stories and histories have been hidden or lost, or we no longer understand the significance or relevance of our histories or our stories. It is within my clan that I am granted place and voice (Jimmy Johnston, Kookhitta<sup>h</sup>aan clan leader, personal communication, March 15, 2011). I am a woman and I am from the Kookhitta<sup>h</sup>aan clan.

Mother, Emma Joanne Shorty (nee Sidney), a mission school survivor, is an inland Tlingit from the Kookhitta<sup>h</sup>aan clan. This dissertation will document scholarly and culture bearer findings on Gaanax̓ádi and Kookhitta<sup>h</sup>aan clan connections as stated by Mother’s now deceased blood sister Gladys Johnston. Mission schools, government policies (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969) and Western institutions have very nearly made obsolete the importance and historical significance of Mother’s clan stories, especially in light of validating that we are Tlingit. Catherine McClellan (1975) surmises that the Kookhitta<sup>h</sup>aan were Athapaskan speakers; this is because the Kookhitta<sup>h</sup>aan people that McClellan interviewed in the 1950s discuss a migration towards the coast of Alaska from Teslin, Yukon (McClellan, 1975). Today in 2015, intergovernmental policy agencies such as the Arctic Council (see Homepage 2014, see Member States 2014) are working on defining traditional knowledges and resources such as McClellan continue to be referenced even though the publication is outdated. McClellan’s work may or



may not be referenced as there is very little new information written about the inland Tlingit from Teslin Yukon (Thornton, 2012).

The objective of this thesis is to document the stories and the story-gathering processes of published and private holdings on Mother's clan stories. The study includes literature and oral history reviews, especially of those who have knowledge about the Kookhittaana and Gaanax̓ádi clans and have connections to the Inland Tlingit from Teslin, Yukon. The research quest of the identity of my mother's clan took me to Teslin, Yukon, Canada and Juneau, Sitka, and Angoon, Alaska, USA. This indigenous-led research focuses on my mother and her clan stories because Tlingit people follow a matrilineal system. Tlingit literacy constructs are transmitted to me despite my rudimentary understanding of Tlingit language and literacy, property, family, ancestors, history, songs and values. I am an insider and an outsider to my culture. I am Tlingit but I do not understand enough of the Tlingit language to follow a Tlingit story. Tlingit elders value the perpetuation of culture and histories in our Tlingit languages. From an insider perspective I am privileged to hear, to learn, and to retell mother's maternal clan stories. Relearning the stories required a review of outsider views and works as well, including Tlingit ways of understanding history and images.

Finding the Tlingit meaning of the Raven with Two Head image transformed the way I thought about Gladys Johnston's statement regarding Gaanax̓ádi and Kookhittaana clan histories and identity. The story of why Gladys Johnston stated that she is Gaanax̓ádi is recorded on petroglyphs (de Laguna, 1960); face paints (Swanton, n.d.); and clan shirts (McClellan, 1975); and is reportedly not understood by these same ethnographers. This dissertation generates Tlingit knowledge on the topic of Mother's clan. This dissertation informs me as Mother's offspring and positions me as a member of the Kookhittaana house of the Gaanax̓ádi clan. This last statement is

especially important to me as I grew up knowing that I am a member of the Kookhittaana “clan”.

In 1986, Mother’s biological sister indicated that she was a member of the Gaanax̓ádi clan and this was news to me and to many who heard this as a result of this research and dissertation.

Today, we need access to our local and personal indigenous histories, as well as access to our stories, which connect us to the land and her resources. Today, the inland Teslin Tlingit have responded to history by recording, validating and commissioning research on the inland Tlingit people. Teslin Tlingit elders and knowledge bearers are busy developing curriculum, implementing social justice policies and protocols as per Tlingit paradigms, and ensuring that the people are governed using Teslin Tlingit constructs. This study also examines the impact of knowing our indigenous history at intergovernmental forums like public education. As a result of this research Tlingit ways of documenting history are discovered and Tlingit research (literacy) frameworks are revealed.

In 2012, my daughter Rae shared a nightmare: “You passed away and I was saying over and over again, ‘I don’t know who I am! I don’t know who I am! I don’t know who I am!’” (Rae Mombourquette, personal communication, February 18, 2012). Rae’s interpretation of her ominous dream was that I would not finish my research. Her fears at that time were great because I did not know the stories of my Mother’s clan nor was I clear about our ancestral and clan connection to Tlingits in Alaska, in British Columbia, in the Yukon, and elsewhere. In 2012, both my Mother and I remained confused about our clan associations because of a statement by Mother’s sister Gladys Johnston (now deceased) that we were members of the Gaanax̓ádi clan, because we always understood that we are Kookhittaana.

I first read about our clan origins when I read Auntie Gladys Johnston’s introduction in a *Tlingit Literacy Workshop* held at the Yukon Native Language Center (Jack et al., 1985). This

information was validated to me personally in the year 2006 by a member of the opposite clan in Teslin. A well-respected woman came to visit me and began to share what she knew about my clan origins (her action was unsolicited and very much appreciated). Using our indigenous validation system of passing on knowledge, my visitor's ancestral memories matched what I had learned from reading Auntie Gladys's testimony in a published proceeding of a Tlingit literacy session (Jack et al., 1985). Auntie Gladys was sharing our clan origins and was telling our own clan story – using her own words and methodologies. These stories that Auntie Gladys shared among her peers are not found in the Yukon Archives or at the Yukon Native Language Center archives. The inland Tlingit clan literacy project was facilitated by Jeff Leer, University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) in 1985. Kanaan Bausler and Lance Twitchell (2012) conducted further research on a draft clan document of Jeff Leer (unpublished raw data). Bausler and Twitchell (2012) indicate that Jeff Leer's clan work is based on early clan research conducted by de Laguna (1960) and Emmons (2002). There is very little said by de Laguna (1960) and Emmons (2002) on the inland Tlingit from Teslin, Yukon. The Inland *Tlingit Literacy Workshop* focus is on the development of orthography, language, and curriculum; not on recording history per se. The discussions of the inland Tlingit clan workshop which was led by Jeff Leer are published under Jack, et al., (1985). The clan charts that Bausler and Twitchell (2012) expanded upon are available on line.

Mother, now 81, attended mission schools at Carcross (Mopass), Yukon and Lower Post, British Columbia. She was born in 1933 and during the 1920s and 1930s it was not uncommon for indigenous children to be forcefully removed from their homes and community to attend government funded mission schools. Mother, a full-blooded Tlingit woman, was removed from her home at the age of four. From the age of four to 16, she was sent to two mission schools

consecutively. The first mission school, Chootla, was situated in Carcross, Yukon and the second in Lower Post, British Columbia. Both were hundreds of walking miles away from the Nisutlin area and the community of Teslin.

Mother remembers being a young child and travelling with other Teslin children destined for the mission school in Carcross. With their uncles as escorts, they left Teslin in the fall and then boated up to Johnsons Crossing where they travelled by footpath to Tagish and then on to Carcross, Yukon where the mission school was situated. Due to this extensive travel, their young age, and a recently widowed mother, our Mother spent only small portions of her formative years with her community, though she does remember returning home to Teslin from time to time.

Our mother lost her father, John Sidney, at the young age of three. Mother is a child and grandchild of the Dakl'aweidí. Mother's mother, Olive Sidney raised her children and made a living among her inland Tlingit people by sewing and tanning hides. Before the mission schools, Mother's people learned about who their clans and families are, about how to live and respond effectively and intelligently in their environments, about how to be good workers and traders, and about the history of their clans and lands. Some Western disciplines such as anthropology and education call this process of learning and teaching "intergenerational transmission of knowledge". Generally, in Tlingit systems, this means that teaching focuses on learning from grandmothers, grandfathers, mothers, fathers, aunties, uncles, sisters and older brothers, cousins and so on. Tlingit learning occurred as we applied, analyzed, and evaluated elements within our immediate environment such as our family, our community, our traditional foods and medicines, our traditional knowledge, our clans and our nation politics. Tlingit knowledge systems were developed through our ancestors' stories and by understanding how to read our petroglyphs, our face paints, marks on our lands, our clans, and our work.

In 1942, Mother was 11 years of age and the Alaska Highway was just completed so children from Teslin were sent back by truck to the Lower Post Mission School in British Columbia. For a contrast in this story see Emma Shorty's story as printed and edited for public schools in the 1970s (Shorty, n.d.). This story has Emma returning home every night – just as she was in day school.

At Lower Post, Mother contracted tuberculosis and by the time she was 16 had been sent home without a treatment plan. Due to the intervention of a local nurse in Teslin, Mother spent nearly four years receiving treatment at Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta. When Mother returned home from the hospital she was 21 and she and my dad married; they had met at Charles Camsell Hospital and I was on the way.

Over Mother's lifespan she learned what she could of the stories about her clan origins, her ancestors, her clan heroes and clan heroines, and she attempted to pass on these stories, histories, and ancestral connections to me, my siblings, and our children.

Two of Mother's maternal heroines are her mother, Olive Sidney, and her grandmother, Annie Fox. Olive Sidney, wife to John Sidney and mother to Mom, was known for her fine handiwork and in some instances served as a surgeon among the inland Tlingit. Annie Fox, wife of Jim Fox and maternal grandmother to Mother, was a known midwife.

Similarly, Mother's paternal heroes were her father, John Sidney, and her grandfather, Jim Fox. John Sidney, my grandfather, settled a dispute among the Wolf moiety from the Teslin area (Pearl Keenan, personal communication, November 30, 2011). Jim Fox, Mother's grandfather, and my great-grandfather, was a much-respected *Dakl'aweidí* clan leader (Note that anthropologist, Catherine McClellan records Jim Fox as old *Yanyeidí*). In Tlingit society there is not more emphasis on one gender over another and this is due to the way Tlingit society is

structured. In my Tlingit language a female speaker calls her mother's sister *Axh Tlak 'w* and her father's sister *Axh A 't* (Sam E., 2000). Note that there are spelling differences between inland and coastal Tlingit. Teslin speaks an older dialect of Tlingit (Emma Shorty, personal communication, September 2008) as do the speakers from Angoon (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 17, 2013). New versions of Tlingit use contractions and in most instances today mastery of the Tlingit language is acquired through text and audio learnings. Tlingit systems are matrilineal (Pearl Keenan, Emma Shorty, Jimmy Johnston, Sam Johnston, personal communication, lifelong), clan-based (Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R. 1987, p. 4), and localized (Thornton, 2012).



## **Chapter 1 Purpose of Research**

The purpose of my research is to learn the story of Mother's clan, and to document the processes of gathering knowledge about the clan connections between the Gaanax̱ádi and Kookhittaan from Teslin, Yukon, Canada. The reason I am studying our Tlingit clan history is because as a family we were at the brink of not hearing our stories and of further losing our clan history and clan stories. My research explains my journey to learn the stories of my clan history, as well as to make contact with our Tlingit relatives on the coast of Alaska. It is hoped that this work will contribute to the broader task of documenting Mother's clan stories and help ensure long-lasting sustainability of our cultural history. For the purposes of this dissertation and because of Tlingit jurisdiction over clan stories, only the Kookhittaan and Gaanax̱ádi stories will be addressed.

This research explores and contributes to a paradigm for ongoing indigenous-led research by telling the story about the land and the history of the inland Tlingit from Teslin, Yukon. Geological survey mapping and the development of the Alaska Highway changed the names for many places, which from an indigenous perspective often told a story about the land. As a result the pre-contact history of the land is potentially lost (Indigenous Knowledge Systems Class 608, [UAF], personal communication, November 10, 2010). Colonization has greatly impacted the perpetuation of indigenous knowledge systems by referring to indigenous knowledge as “traditional” because the term tradition conjures up images of living in the past. Indigenous scholars view this imagery of living in the past as a result of colonization (Archibald, 2008; Kawagley, 1995; Leonard, 2007; Smith, G., 2000; Smith, L., 1999; Wilson, 2009).

My research seeks to find a definitive answer to who are the Gaanax̱ádi and who are the Kookhittaan. The conclusions might be that there are no definitive answers because there are many truths and they all matter (Alice Taff, Richard Dauenhauer, personal communication,



November 25, 2011). The overarching objective of this research is to document all the findings on the Kookhitta and Gaanaxádi clans from Teslin, Yukon, and to articulate inland Teslin Tlingit research frameworks that pertain to finding and articulating Mother's clan stories as described by her blood sister, Gladys Johnston (Jack et al., 1985).

The intent of this work is to strengthen Tlingit knowledge about ourselves, including the articulation of Tlingit teachings and values. It is hoped that Tlingit ways to determine truth are revealed by documenting clan ownership, clan origin stories, and clan-based story methodologies.

In May 2011, Dr. Soboleff "Walked into the Forest" [passed away] at age 102, but his accomplishments and the people whose lives he touched live on" (Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2015). Just before Dr. Soboleff passed away he was about to sit with Mother to tell her more about where she came from. With his passing however, Mother never heard the stories Dr. Soboleff had to offer. Sealaska Heritage Institute (2015) writes that "Dr. Walter A. Soboleff, Raven, of the Dog Salmon clan, practiced our Native values, especially Haa Shagóon—honoring our past while preparing a better future for our children's children".

As I ventured out on my research journey I found that Tlingit history, intelligence, economies, literacies and lands are often absent, or are left to the readers' imagination (Thornton, 2004, pp. vi-xiii). Past publications, scholars, and scientists also frequently viewed indigenous peoples as hunter-gathers, wandering from place to place in search of foods. The indigenous story is labeled "myth" and concepts of time are considered primitive. As an indigenous researcher I am aware that articulated concepts of aboriginality will have incredible consequences in relation to setting standards for researching culture. Economic and social development among self-governing Yukon First Nations communities are dependent upon the

use of traditional knowledges. Uses of traditional knowledges are creating discussion tables among Yukon First Nations and scientists who study the circumpolar region. Non-traditional use of traditional knowledges are of concern to many Yukon First Nations' especially in the areas which impact Yukon First Nations' cultural way of life. Due to contact and colonization much of this dissertation has relied upon the findings in literature. As well the literature on the story of Mother's clan changes the way we think about history in the Teslin area.

Literature by the first people of the Yukon region is few, outdated, or nonexistent (Johnson, 2011, abstract). Alyce Johnson, a Crow clan woman from Burwash Landing, Yukon, recently received her PhD from Trent University, and her research determines how her people define their interrelationships with the land near Burwash Landing through place names. Johnson's research is expressed through space, genealogy, stories, songs, ceremonies, oral traditions and history found only in Kluane First Nation's traditional territory. Johnson's research examines two songs and finds that indigenous names are deep and meaningful and express concepts of space which are both tangible and nontangible.

In the Yukon, First Nations' articulation of their own research processes can have far-reaching consequences, especially because our indigenous knowledges are included in global, regional and local policy development (Arctic Council, Document Archive, 2015). In specific areas like indigenous governance, education, environment, culture and social justice, many policy tables and meeting agendas address systemic and institutional discrimination, so that western processes and indigenous peoples may move forward in a side-by-side model of governance and respect (Fondahl, Larson, & Rasmussen, 2012). These international policy and research tables often define traditional knowledge as a body of knowledge expressed as a way of life. These ways of life are expressed as traditional knowledge and are defined as systematic

ways of thinking among indigenous peoples. These ways of thinking are then applied by the scientists and policy makers across biological, physical, cultural and spiritual systems that are important to maintaining culture, livelihoods, and well-being among indigenous peoples (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014, p. 68). Indigenous knowledge is generated by indigenous peoples (Battiste, 2008). Contact and colonization have seriously eroded processes for intergenerational transmission of knowledge and in order to work in a side-by-side fashion indigenous peoples need time at the home front for their own deliberations. Indigenous research engagement needs to be articulated locally and adhered to at international levels (Tlingit Clan Conference, 2013).

As determined in the Indigenous Women's Knowledge<sup>1</sup> discussions at the Tlingit Clan Gathering Conference, November 9, 2013, in Juneau, Alaska, the people in the room wanted to engage in research processes that focus on indigenous agendas such as relevant education, social justice programs, and the development of indigenous-led research processes (Tlingit Clan Conference, 2013). The heart of each indigenous program requires an indigenous focus and affirmation of indigenous languages, identity, and history. These are especially important directions given issues of contact and colonization among my family, my community and my nation. Knowing my history has created a foundational shift in my thinking. I can clearly see the local nature of indigenous stories and histories and I clearly see how literature discusses indigenous peoples in general and broad terms. International policy processes on indigenous research engagement and connections need to be locally led and articulated. Increasingly bodies such as Arctic Council are defining traditional knowledge in order to move issues and

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix O for more information including a link to a Youtube view of this workshop.

environmental files such as climate, oceans, mines, and indigenous peoples forward. Arctic Council deliberates scientific research in four major areas: environment and climate; biodiversity; oceans; and, Arctic peoples. Arctic Council is a high-level intergovernmental forum with eight member countries<sup>2</sup> (Arctic Council, About Us, 2015).

Circumpolar research as commissioned by the Arctic Council has determined that the state of indigenous languages is in crisis; that many indigenous youth are at high risk of suicide, and, that indigenous men are absent from schools of higher learning (N. Shorty, presentation on “Use of Traditional Knowledge in Non-traditional Contexts to the Sustainable Development Working Group of Arctic Council” 2013, October 18). Indigenous peoples desire research that will assist in the rebuilding of our languages, knowledges, histories, and methods due to the devastating impacts of colonization on our societies (Arctic Council, Health and Wellbeing, 2015).

Indigenous peoples know that our languages and cultures are in a state of decline and crisis (Parliament of Canada, 2011). Indigenous peoples want to articulate indigenous literacy and research frameworks (Arctic Languages Vitality, 2013) amongst ourselves in order to take charge of research tables (Tlingit Clan Conference, 2013, Indigenous Women’s Knowledge). Indigenous peoples want research agendas that focus on process such as how we will do business not content (Teslin Tlingit Elders, personal communication, 2013). Many times the research questions and results come to the community after the question and results have been deliberated at tables outside of the community processes. Hence the research agenda is content driven. It would be far more beneficial to enjoy research and discussion tables, which have included in its

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<sup>2</sup> Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the United States

processes time for deliberations at the community level. This is due to the tremendous culture losses as determined by many residential and mission school survivors today (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). As an indigenous research scholar, I am finding that many indigenous researchers are questioning the glaring absence of indigenous International Review Board protocols (Tom, N. 2014), indigenous research epistemologies and methods (Holmes, K, 2014) and indigenous copyright on indigenous research (Shorty, N., 2014).

In many social justice models one finds that the starting point for social justice initiatives or frameworks for change is the articulation of cultural competencies (Baba, 2013). Many of these tools for competencies are developed for social justice initiatives at the community level and include cultural guidelines towards working among indigenous communities. Local First Nations need to discuss and validate criteria for including indigenous cultural competencies at local, national, and circumpolar levels (Wark, 2014, slide 4). As Yukon peoples and governments implement ideas about self-determination there is a need to realize the impact that contact and colonization have had upon our indigenous ways of understanding ourselves (G. Smith, personal communication, October 24, 2012, UAF).

### *1.1 Research Question*

The central question to be addressed in this research is, “What did Auntie Gladys Johnston mean when she indicated she is of the Gaanax̓ádi clan (Jack et al., 1985). Now deceased, Gladys Johnston is Mother’s blood sister and Gladys Johnston is mostly remembered as an active member of the Kookhitta clan. Mother went to mission school and Gladys Johnston did not. Due to policies and the displacement of indigenous persons here in the circumpolar region, our inland Tlingit histories and stories are not openly discussed. In fact,

many of Mother's clan stories remain hidden from public view and this is due to clan and family jurisdictions over inland Teslin Tlingit culture, including availability of indigenous sources and literature (Johnson, 2011) The inland and coastal Tlingit peoples collectively enjoy intellectual and cultural property rights over stories, songs, dances, knowledge, medicines, technology, clan clothing, clan blankets, masks, etc. (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1990, 1987).

## *1.2 Background of the Study*

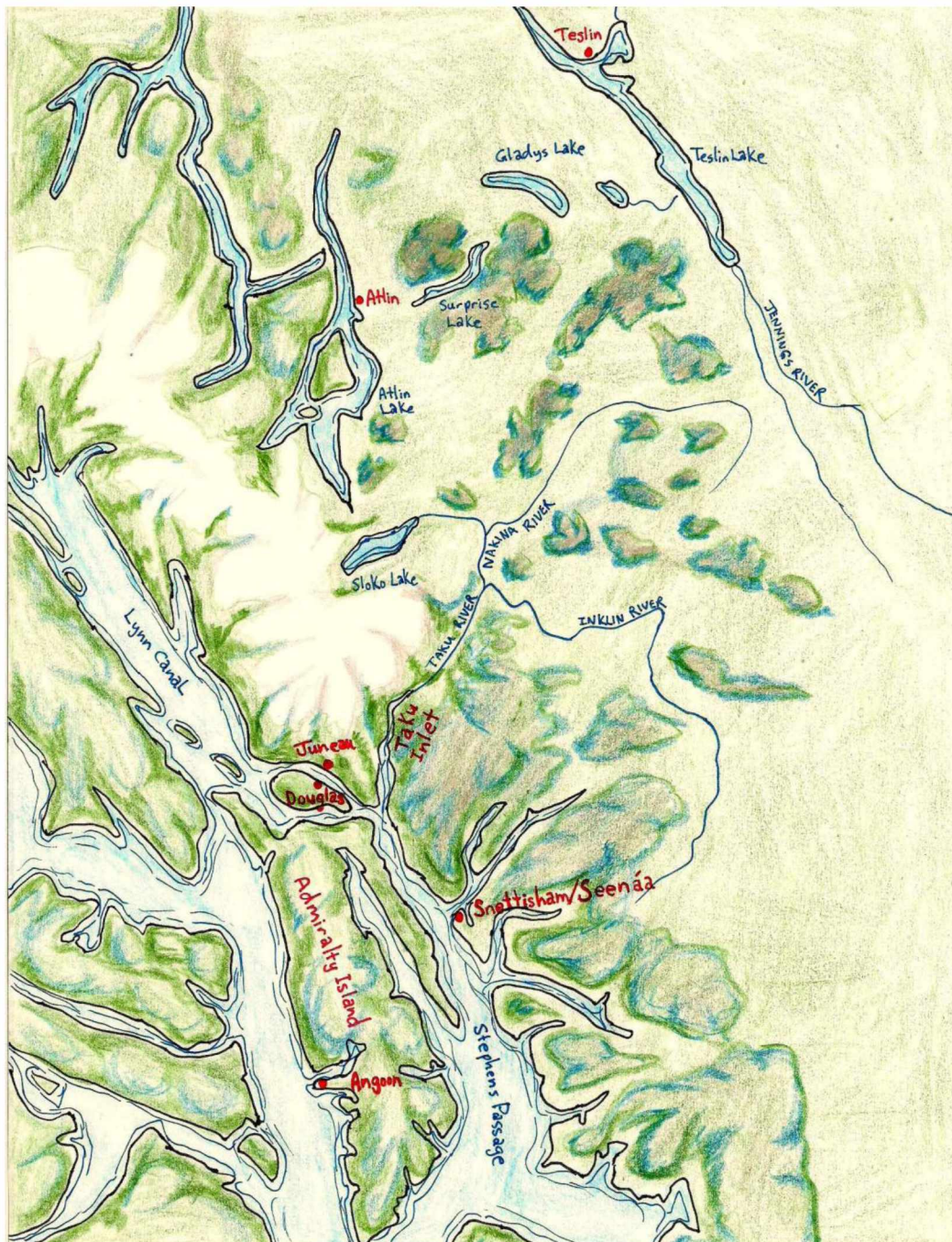
Mother's clan stories have not been passed down to me, or my siblings, because Mother did not grow up immersed in her clan history or reading and learning about her Tlingit culture.

In 1920 Canada stepped up its assimilation policies on indigenous peoples and began to systematically remove Status Indian children from their homes and place them into mission schools. At the same time, Indians under the meaning of the Indian Act were not entitled to vote, to attend a public bar, or enroll their children in public school (Frideres & Gadacz, 2012).

Exploration and mapping, the Klondike gold rush, the building of the Alaska Highway, and many government reports and scholarly articles are based on the assumption that the Yukon lands were *terra nullius* or 'land owned by no one' at the time of contact between indigenous peoples and outsiders of European descent (Culture and Intellectual Property Rights 602, UAF, in class discussion, January 4, 2011).

On the surface it appears that inland Tlingit and other Yukon First Nations did nothing to stop "the other" (Thornton, 2004, p. xi) from using the old pack trails, or to stop them from charging tolls on land and trails that were not theirs. However, as researched by Thomas Thornton (2004) a letter dated 1887 from Lunáat, a L'ukaax.ádi chief (Sockeye crest, a clan of the Raven moiety) in Skagway to the U.S. Government reveals Tlingit conceptualizations of

property, liability, and stewardship. Lunáat's letter (*Free Press*, 5/14/1887) demands compensation for the use of the Chilkoot Trail because "the white man builds a wharf and all who lands goods must pay" (Thornton, 2004, p. xi). Lunáat is expressing his dismay at the government for denying a toll from those outsiders who crossed into the Yukon via the Chilkoot trail. The Chilkoot trail was controlled by the coastal Tlingit. Lunáat has witnessed how those who land on the wharf that the government built must pay a toll to the government. To Lunáat he and his nation have jurisdiction over the Chilkoot trail which is Tlingit territory and Lunáat wants to charge a toll to those who use the Chilkoot trail to get to the goldfields in the Yukon Territory.



**Figure 1.1: Geographical Map<sup>3</sup>, Angoon to Teslin.**

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<sup>3</sup> Ukjese van Kampen (2014), Angoon to Teslin (Geographical Map) which was commissioned by Norma Shorty for this dissertation (May 2015).



The stories in this dissertation involve the communities of Angoon, Seenáa (Snettisham), Douglas, Juneau, and Taku, Alaska, Taku River trail inland and Teslin, Yukon.

#### 1.1.1 Angoon

Angoon, Alaska is important and was the first clue in this research on my mother's clan because Angoon is mentioned by anthropologist McClellan (1953, p. 47). McClellan (1953) associates the Gaanaxádi with the Kookhittaán and states that Angoon is a place of origin for the Kookhittaán clan in Teslin, Yukon.

#### 1.1.2 Seenáa

Seenáa is a place on the Taku River and there is a rock in the middle of the river.

Seenáa is owned by the Kookhittaán. The rock is where Kookhittaán have stewardship. I heard this from Grandma Fox, my mom, Olive Sidney, and my sister Gladys Johnston.

There is a boat that Uncle Pete Fox bought and when Pete Fox passed away the boat went to Billy Fox. Auntie Jane's sister is Pansy and they named Pansy Seenáa Tlaa. Auntie Eliza knew this story too (Emma Shorty, personal communication, September 5, 2014).

Seenáa factors in because Teslin Tlingit elders state that Seenáa is an important location among the inland Tlingit.

“According to one Teslin informant, the ancestors of the Koqwhltan were supposed to have gone down the Taku River to S'ina; a place near Sumdum Glacier” (McClellan, 1975, p. 474).

Seenáa is mentioned in Kanaan Bausler and Lance Twitchell (2012). Bausler and Twitchell (2012), state that their document is based on an unpublished document of Jeff Leer, which is also being expanded upon by James Crippen (2014). Bausler and Twitchell (2012) state that Jeff Leer's (unpublished raw data) draft clan work builds off of Emmons (2002) clan charts. Bausler and Twitchell include the works of Tlingit Cartographer, Researcher and Scholar Andrew Hope III (2003) and James Crippen (2014). "The Kookhittaana migrated from Seenáa (Snettisham) to the interior" (Bausler and Twitchell, 2012). It is important to mention that the inland Teslin Tlingit do not have an English name for Seenáa.

Thomas Thornton (2012) quotes Annie Rasmussen in Goldschmidt and Haas (2000) "Seenáa is one of three camps at Snettisham" (p. 70). "There is a town at the mouth of Snettisham, and there were three other camps where they [Taku people] get fish, but I cannot locate them for you exactly. They were called Tlaksidak [?], Seenáa [?], and Tcatshini [Gathéeni?]" (Annie Rasmussen in Goldschmidt and Haas, 2000, p. 43).

According to Yanyeidí testimony that I witnessed at Adelaide Jacobs' memorial ku.éex'; "There is a place that the coastal Yanyeidí discuss Seináa (which is near Snettisham) and where the Giant Octopus and Killer Whale people fought" (H. Jacobs, personal communication, August 31, 2014). This Yanyeidí and Seináa story is mentioned by George Stevens, (1915-2006), Gaanax̄teidí from Xaak Hít (Valley House) – and Yanyeidí Yádi (H. Jacobs, personal communication, December 06, 2013).



**Figure 1.2: George Stevens – Photo by Bob Hallinen (Enge, n.d.)**

Researching Seenáa a significant paternal family connection is found (September 8, 2014). “George Stevens’s mother was Sarah Claydoo. His father Henry Yanashtúkh (Path of Lightning Strikes) was Yanyeidí” (Harold Jacobs, personal communication, September 8, 2014).

“George Stevens is my father’s nephew; George Stevens’ father’s name is Yanashtúkh” (Emma Shorty, personal communication, September 8, 2014).

Finding genealogical links to Mother’s paternal coastal family is significant because it affirms that Mother’s father has ancestral ties to the coastal Tlingit. The other obvious significance is that Mother’s coastal family is beginning to be found as a result of this research.

“George Stevens’s mother lived in Juneau because she married a Taku man” (Enge, n.d.).

John Sidney (Tlhaawk<sup>4</sup>) from the Daḡl’aweidí clan died when his children were young. John married Olive Fox (Yeskeich Aantoox.usaax) from the Kookhittaana (raven moiety) clan. John and Olive Sidney had the following children: Gladys, Mable, Emma, Jack, and Peter. After

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<sup>4</sup> Wherever possible, people’s Tlingit names will be included in this dissertation. Tlingit names are not always available either because the name is forgotten or the name is no longer in use.

John died Olive Sidney never remarried. As a widow, Olive Sidney worked among her Tlingit community to feed and clothe her children (Emma Shorty, personal communication, September 10, 2014). Olive was also known for her fine sewing and tanning of hides (Teslin Women's Institute, 1972, p. 17) and some surgical skills (Emma Shorty, personal communication, September 10, 2014).

At the onset of this research journey Mother also remembered that her second maternal great-grandmother was buried on Douglas Island.

### 1.1.3 Snettisham

Snettisham is linked by coastal Tlingit to Seenáa, it was said that there are three camps in Snettisham, and one of these three camps is Seenáa, which Goldschmidt and Haas' informant questions and no reason for these question marks are given (2000, p.119). As previously stated, Teslin Tlingit elders do not have an English name for Seenáa (Emma Shorty, personal communication, 2013).

Inland Tlingit Raven moiety clan leaders from Teslin are recognized at a Yanyeidí ku.éex'. Recently appointed clan leader of the coastal Yanyeidí clan, Harold Jacobs, gifted three inland Tlingit clan leaders with "warrior ropes," alongside coastal Raven clan leaders, at the Yanyeidí ku.éex', hosted in Juneau, Alaska on the 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> of August 2014. There was a declaration made that we are one, there is no border, and there is no Canadian Tlingit; there is no United States Tlingit; we are one.

### 1.1.4 T'aakú *Kwáan*

The community of Taku (Google Map Maker, 2014) was at the mouth of the Taku River

and this community emptied as a result of the gold rush (Thornton, 2012, p. 68). Researchers Goldschmidt and Haas (2000, pp. 41-44) record coastal Tlingit testimonies about the T'aakú Kwáan area and these testimonies bring forward Tlingit connections between the inland (Atlin, British Columbia) and the coast of Alaska. On the Taku River trail route there is a trail splitter one route goes to Lake Bennett and Tagish and the other route goes to Atlin and Teslin (Harris, 1996, p. 89). The Chilkoot and Chilkat trails were two other distinct trails. The Taku River route inland is lesser known and for non-Tlingit is virtually unexplored (Harris, 1996). At the onset of this research journey I had initially thought that the Taku River Trail inland would bring forward testimony on my mother's clan's people and our clan history. The Taku River Trail inland factors in as a mode of transportation to show that the inland Tlingit in Atlin, British Columbia and Teslin, Yukon used the Taku trail inland, as did Tlingit on the coast of Alaska. A detailed description of the Taku River communities are provided by McClellan (1975, pp. 60-64). As per McClellan's research, the Kookhittaan clan occupied two out of 28 Tlingit "village" locations on the Taku (McClellan, 1975, p. 62, #19 and p. 63, #26).

Thinking regionally is useful with regards to researching my mother's clan. There were trail networks and property rights over clan people (see Appendix A and Appendix B for early stories of war between the Tahltan and the Tlingit), land, trade, and a deep sense of economy (Appendix C). In putting together Mother's clan story it is important to distinguish between trail networks from the coast of Alaska to the Interior of the Yukon. Another trail system includes the Stikine River trail route where one trail led to Teslin Yukon and the other to the Taku River trail.

### 1.1.5 Teslin, Yukon

In 1969, a local group of settler women in Teslin began a Teslin Chapter of Women's Institutes of Canada. The task of the day was to compile village history books, and this book took the ladies four years to complete (1969 to 1972). Below are excerpts from these collected village histories:

Three Aces (Dawson Peaks) as told by David Johnston: Long ago there was a great flood. The waters of Teslin Lake...rose higher and higher for four summers in a row. The Indian people were forced out of their homes and away from their hunting grounds by the rising water, so they decided to build a large raft of log poles....

Finally...the waters came to reach the highest peak of the Aces so the people threw out an anchor and coiled a rope around the peak. When the waters subsided the raft came to a rest on top of the mountain.... Somewhere on the peak of "Lone Sheep" mountain lies the remains of the raft and the anchor, visible only to those who believe in the fable (Teslin Women's Institute, 1972, p. 21).

Please note the use of the word "fable" with respect to the stories about how the Tlingit people in the Teslin area survived the floods. This idea of Tlingit stories as fable and not being real gives us a glimpse of how people view oral history.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> Century as a result of contact with the Russian and European fur traders...the Indians spent more time trapping...this brought them to an area known as Teslin. They would trap and hunt all winter and with the breakup of spring they would journey to Teslin for a summer vacation.

The market for furs was at the coast...they would build boats at the south end of Teslin Lake and travel the length of a stream which entered Teslin [Lake] from the east.

From here they would voyage overland to a meeting place on the Nakina River... where they would continue their journey downstream to the Taku Inlet, 162 miles from Teslin. This trip took the Indians four days if they had heavy loads to carry but only two days if their baggage was light. Upon arrival in Juneau they traded the year's furs for supplies such as ammunition, flour, sugar, tea, and salt (Teslin Women's Institute, 1972, p. 7).

### *1.2 Teslin Tlingit Council*

Teslin Tlingit Council was one of the first four nations to sign the historic Yukon Land Claims in 1991. Teslin Tlingit government follows the clan system of governance. This model of governance has always been part of the Teslin Tlingit culture. In the matter of governance, "the Self-Government Agreement enables the Teslin Tlingit Council to establish the legal and political framework for its government-to-government relations with Canada and Yukon. Teslin Tlingit Council is entitled to enact its own laws...including: the use, management and good governance of its Settlement Lands and the people living on these lands" (Teslin Tlingit Council, 2014). Teslin Tlingit Council is a third order of government, alongside the Government of Yukon and the Federal Government of Canada. Teslin Tlingit Council is made up of five clans: Da<sup>l</sup>l'aweidi and Yanyeidi; Deisheetaan, Ishkahittaaan, and Kookhittaaan.

Teslin Tlingit Moieties and Clans, 2014  
as recognized in the Yukon First Nation  
Land Claim Agreements, Teslin Tlingit  
Chapter.

Wolf Moiety (clan crest below  
in parenthesis)

Dakl'aweidi (Killer Whale)

Yanyeidi (Wolf)

Raven Moiety (clan crest below in  
parenthesis)

Deisheetaan (Beaver)

Ishkahittaan (Frog)

Kookhittaan (Children of the Raven)

**Figure 1.3: Inland Tlingit Clans**

Teslin Tlingit people continue to claim clan and family jurisdiction over Tlingit lands, trails, traplines, crests, and governance. Teslin Tlingit Council's website points out that the Teslin Tlingit people are descendants of the T'aakú Ḵwáan who lived along the Taku River. Ḵwáan means "people from that place" (Edwards, 2009, p. 176)<sup>5</sup>. "The Taku [River] was an important migration route and trade corridor to the interior; with the exception of Douglas, Alaska, no settlement remains in this Ḵwáan" (Thornton, 2012, p. 68). The Taku River tributary begins a few miles southeast of Juneau. Mother said that the Inland Tlingit have descendants

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<sup>5</sup> Note the fundamental and subtle differences when we discuss Ḵwáan while using the Tlingit language [people from that place] and how Ḵwáan is understood from an English language perspective [a settlement].



from Juneau and Douglas and Seenáa<sup>6</sup>. Mother heard this from her late sister Gladys. Teslin Tlingit people are matrilineal and by nature of my birthright amongst the Tlingit, I have a voice and presence amongst my people. In matters that pertain to governance, land use, and subsistence I speak through my clan leader, who is a Teslin Tlingit citizen and a land claim beneficiary of the Teslin area.

### *1.3 Coastal Tlingit*

In the late 1700s explorers sailed into the Northwest Passage and the countries these explorers represented include Russia, America, France, (de Laguna, 1972; Emmons, 2002; and Dauenhauer, N., Dauenhauer, R., and Black, 2008). Known as fierce middlemen in the trade industry, the Tlingit people travelled inland to trade for furs. Tlingit communities can also be thought of in terms of economic viability and stewardship over trade trails, routes and the industry itself. In determining how long Tlingit people have been inland, it appears “for as long as legend remembers” (Harris, 1996, p. 33).

When considering how history is remembered from a Tlingit perspective it is easy to see how the Kohklux Map (Yukon Historical and Museums Association, 1995), the history of Klukwan (Mother’s paternal family history), the burning of Fort Selkirk (Davidson, 1901), and the Long Ago Person Found (Beattie et al., 2007), all factor into one story pool<sup>7</sup>. Part of this research journey is to uncover and publish similar stories and events on or about my mother’s clan from the perspective of our extensive use of the Taku River trail inland.

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<sup>6</sup> Either Snettisham (Thornton, 2012) or a rock in the middle of the Taku River (Emma Shorty, personal communication, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> I am defining story pool to be a collection of stories that have common themes (story of origin) and/or underlying factors.

There were three distinct ways for the coastal Tlingit to get to the Yukon (for furs): one is the Chilkat Trail route; the second is the Chilkoot Trail route; and, the other more obscure route is the Taku River route (McClellan, 1953, page 47). The Taku River route inland connects Teslin, Yukon with Áak'w Kwaan and T'aakú Kwáan in Alaska.

Today, it is said that the Chilkat and Chilkoot trails were controlled by Tlingits from Klukwan (Wayne Price personal communication, September 1, 2008) this control is affirmed by literature (Yukon Historical and Museums Association, 1995, pp. 5-27; Thornton, 2004).

Shotridge (also known as Kohklux, as cited in Henry, 2012), controlled the Chilkat and Chilkoot trails, and Kohklux, or the father of Kohklux, is connected to the burning of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Fort Selkirk, Yukon in 1852 (Yukon Historical and Museums Association, 1995, p. 9). Other known trail routes to the interior include the Yakutat to Haines Junction route (George Ramos, personal communication, Yakutat, 2011) and the Stikine River route, which is located three hundred miles away from Teslin, Yukon. It is not known who controlled the trail from the mouth of the Taku River to Teslin. McClellan (1953) reports that the coastal Tlingit refer to inland Tlingit as Gunanaa; McClellan asks why these Tlingit-speaking bands of the interior should be called Gunanaa by the nearby coastal Tlingit (1953, p. 48). What has been their history? Do they differ from the coast people?

Today inland Tlingit have responded to this statement. Duane Aucoin, a prominent Yanyeidí man, has composed a song stating, "Tleil Gunanaa....we are not strangers; we are Tlingit". What is our relationship with coastal Tlingit? How are the inland and coastal Kookhittaán and Gaanax'ádi clans connected? When I was seeking answers to the preceding questions it became apparent that I needed to conduct an initial research journey to Juneau, Sitka and Angoon, Alaska.

It was during this journey to Angoon that my clan house and its location were revealed to me. My trips to Juneau, Sitka, and Angoon, Alaska in search of my roots and clan stories was instrumental in finding my mother's clan stories. I found these stories among the living archivists and culture bearers of Tlingit language and culture. These initial journeys to Juneau, Sitka, and Angoon helped me to sketch out a major part of the missing stories and histories of Mother's clan. More than ever I am realizing the truth in coastal Tlingit speech that "there is no border between the Tlingit"; we are connected to our ancestors through our Tlingit names. Those names collected by Mary Blahitka, 2013, and Catherine McClellan, 2010<sup>8</sup>, were recognized by Alan Zuboff, the clan leader of the Deisheetaan. Alan stated that over three quarters of the Tlingit names in the documents are Tlingit names in Angoon (personal communication, November 18, 2013). It is apparent that the idea of no border between inland and coastal Tlingit will be gaining momentum in many of our Tlingit forums.

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<sup>8</sup> I showed Alan Zuboff an online copy of the inland Tlingit stories and it during this time that Alan recognized many of the names in McClellan (2010).

## **Chapter 2 The Literature Review: Gaanax̓.ádi, Deisheetaan, and Kookhittaaan Clans; Angoon, Alaska, and Teslin, Yukon**

My initial literature search proved to be very helpful. I was developing lists of events and histories, but only insofar as developing a preliminary and rudimentary understanding towards finding the clan connections between the Gaanax̓.ádi and the Kookhittaaan clans as per Gladys Johnston's statement. Early on I was advised not to spend my time validating or detracting from previously written scholarly work (Richard Dauenhauer, Alice Taff, personal communication, November 25, 2011). Despite my best efforts to not correct past works I discovered glaring discrepancies in how things, events and images were understood by past ethnographers. In some cases these discrepancies could not be overlooked (see Appendix D for McClellan's explanation of Crow with two slave heads and Appendix E for Raven with two heads).

Many stories and songs were shared with me as I engaged in dinner table discussion groups among coastal and inland friends and relatives. A side-by-side model of western and cultural research was needed for me to construct my literature review; images as published by "outsiders" needed to be orated and explained by knowledge bearers and "insiders" to the Tlingit culture. The literature and oral history aspect of the stories need to be situated in tandem to make meaning of the information that is gathered.

In Canada the Gitksan fought for indigenous rights over indigenous lands and the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that oral history be given more weight than written text (Hurley, 2000). Hence, in documenting the story of Mother's clan I am lending more weight to oral history as well.

The reference to Gladys Johnston stating she is Gaanax̓.ádi is unknowing recorded by ethnographers on petroglyphs (de Laguna, 1960), face paints (Swanton, n.d.) and clan shirts

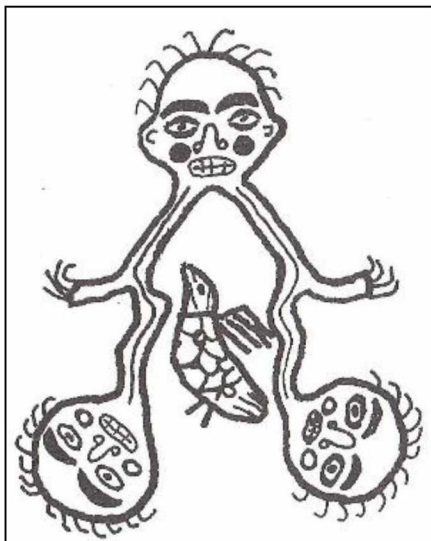
(McClellan, 1975). When the secret of one image was unlocked to me, it was Raven with two heads (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 16, 2013) and not Raven with two slave heads (McClellan, 1975, p. 325), I could better match the stories and histories as published by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer (1987), and orated by Alan Zuboff, Harold Jacobs, and the late and much-respected Cyril George. As I got deeper into researching the basis of Gladys Johnston's statement, clan shirts (McClellan, 1975, pp. 325, 341), face paintings (Swanton, n.d. , Plate LI, h) and petroglyphs (de Laguna, 1960, p. 76) confirmed and validated the story as it is recorded and understood among some coastal and inland Tlingit. Gradually and piece-by-piece Gladys Johnston's statement, which could be linked to Deisheetaan and Gaanax̓.ádi (Appendix F, Appendix G), and Gaanax̓.ádi and Gaanax̓teidí clan splits (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 17, 2013), surfaced. Once I had completed my research on previously reviewed literature and my field studies in Juneau, Sitka, and Angoon, Alaska, Tlingit literacy frameworks emerged and shed further light upon Gladys Johnston's statement. These Tlingit literacy frameworks record in stone, face paints and clan shirts are the Tlingit understandings of Gaanax̓.ádi and Kookhittaaan connections.

McClellan photographed a Kookhittaaan clan leader dance shirt (van Kampen, 2012, pg. 128). As per my research results the symbols and images on this dance shirt records the various Gaanax̓.ádi, Deisheetaan; Gaanax̓.ádi and Gaanax̓teidí clan splits, the back of the dance shirt records the story of glaciation, migration, including the "supremacy" of the Raven moiety as Raven sits in the center of the image. For more information on the Kookhittaaan clan shirt go to Appendix D and Appendix E.



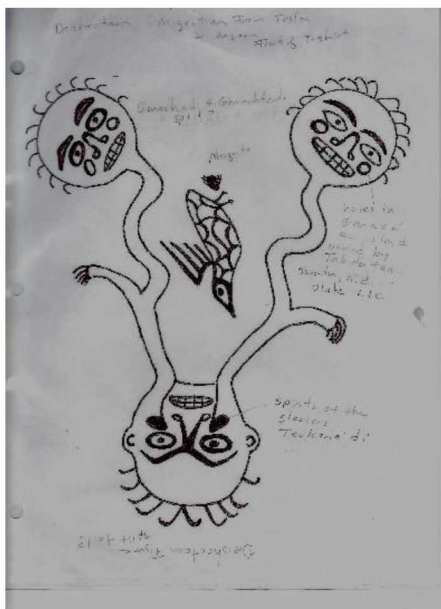
**Figure 2.1: Front (McClellan, 1951, J765) Kookhittaan Clan Dance Shirt**

Written on the back of this photo is “J765 Beaded and painted Koghltan dance shirts in care of Freddy Johnston, Teslin Indian, Teslin, Yukon Territory. May 1951 Catharine McClellan” (Vincent Lafond, personal communication, November 19, 2014). McClellan (1975) states that this is three spirits and crow from a painted dance shirt of the Kookhittaan sib of the Crow moiety, inland Tlingit (p. 341).



**Figure 2.2: Close Up of Three Spirits and Crow McClellan (1975, p. 341).**

McClellan uses the clan dance shirt image as a chapter motif and the image is not presented as it is shown on the actual clan shirt. The image is shown with the head side up and there is the absence of the mosquito. Note the filled in circle on the cheeks of one head; Swanton (n.d.,) indicates that face paint designs mean something. Dr. Ukjese van Kampen (2012, p. 198) redrew the dance shirt image as shown in the McClellan photograph of 1951.



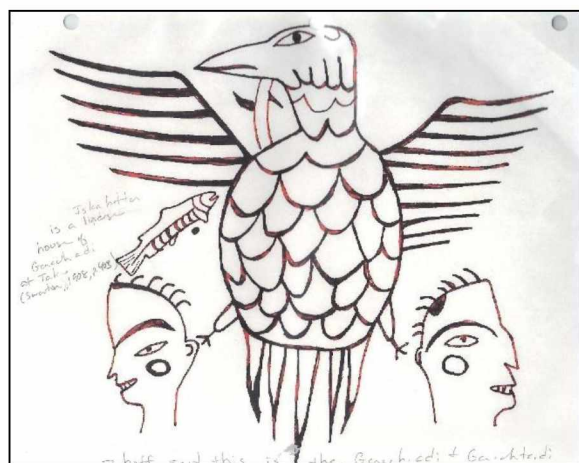
**Figure 2.3: Clan Migrations and Splits Recorded in Dance Shirt**

Van Kampen surmises that the figure is not human from this world and comes from myth time (2012, p.198). When McClellan (1975) and van Kampen (2012) flip the image over, I can see the clan image of the split-tailed beaver (Deisheetaan). As per my research results, perhaps the two heads, where the feet are, records the Gaanax.ádi and Gaanaxteidi clan split (see Appendix F).



**Figure 2.4: Back of Kookhitta Clan Dance Shirt (McClellan, 1951, J766)**

Alan Zuboff states that these two heads make reference to the Gaanaxádi and Gaanaxteidí clan splits (see Appendix G and Appendix H for reasons as recorded by Garfield, 1947 and de Laguna, 1960).



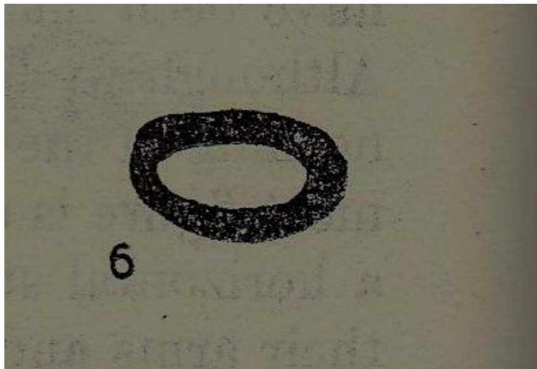
**Figure 2.5 Back of Clan Shirt (van Kampen, 2012, p. 197)**



Swanton (n.d., Plate LI, c) indicates that the circular shapes on the cheeks represent holes in Gaanax̓aa, an island used by the T'aḵdeintaan and Plate LI, h indicates that the [filled in] circles on cheeks means spirits of the glaciers.



Note that this circular shape is carved in stone at Sitkoh Bay (de Laguna, 1960, figure 8 - #6, p.76). The petroglyphs at Sitkoh Bay were redrawn by Catherine McClellan, who was one of two post doctorate ethnographers at Angoon, Alaska during 1949 and 1950; de Laguna being the other (de Laguna, 1960, preface, p. ix).



**Figure 2.7: Petroglyph Drawing #6 by McClellan in de Laguna, 1960, p. 76**

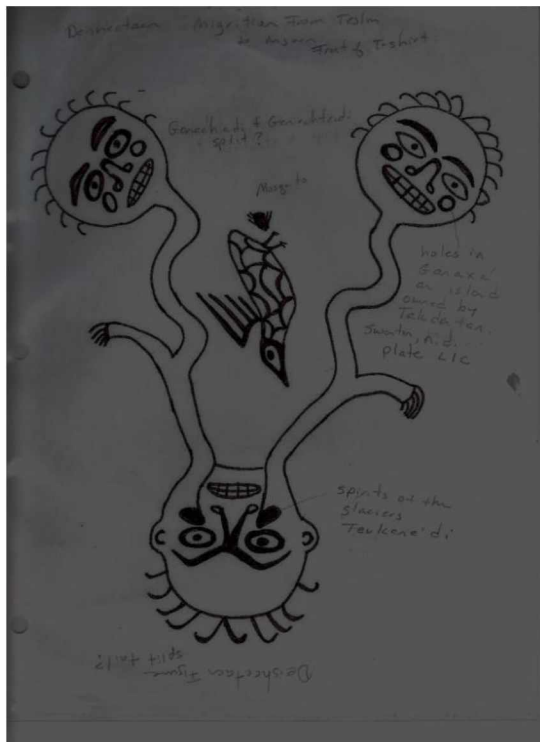
Could there be an association between this circular shape in the petroglyph and the circles seen on 2 of the 3 heads on the Kookhittaan clan dance shirt?

In figure 13 filled in circles on cheeks represent spirits of the glaciers and this particular face paint, H, is used by the [Chookaneidí] (Swanton, n.d., n.p.) who are of the wolf moiety (p. 399, see Huna). Could it be that filled in circles means spirits of glaciers no matter which clan you come from?



**Figure 2.8: Face H – Redrawn by Ukjese van Kampen as per Swanton (n.d., Plate LI, h).**

Below is a drawing of the three heads (van Kampen, 2012, p. 198) which is on the back of the Kookhitta clan dance shirt which was photographed by McClellan in 1951. The notes (below) on the drawing are mine and the notes describe my discovery process on what this image might mean as I applied literature and personal communications on Swanton's understanding of the face paints; Alan Zuboffs understanding of Raven with two heads, Cyril Georges' Deisheetaan migration story which is associated to the birth of mosquitos. The culture bearers explicitly discussed the meaning of these images at different times. For instance, the late Cyril George associated the mosquito with migration and glaciers, as did Robert Zuboff as recorded in Haa Shuká (Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, p. 79).



**Figure 2.9: Clan Shirt Tells a Story**

Notes on the drawing from top to bottom:

Deisheetaan migration from Teslin to Angoon Front of T-shirt

Gaanax̣.ádi and Gaanax̣teidí split?

Mosquito

Holes in Gaanax̣áa and island owned by T'aḳdeintaan (Swanton, n.d. plate c)

Filled in holes, spirit of the glaciers Chookaneidí (Swanton, n.d. plate h)

Deisheetaan Figure Split Tailed Beaver?

## *2.2 McClellan (1975) Clan Motifs as Collected*

In 1975 McClellan records among Teslin informants that the Kookhittaaan clan has ancestral connections to Angoon, Alaska. Many of the chapter motifs in *My Old People Say: An Ethnographic Survey of Southern Yukon Territory* are in the art style of Angoon. Dr. Ukjese van Kampen, 2012, examined Yukon art pieces in publications and international museums and took note of distinct “art styles” between Tlingit and Athapaskan art. Dr. van Kampen’s dissertation compares styles in early Yukon art (p. 7). Dr. van Kampen’s research has influenced how I look at First Nation art. I now look at Tlingit art and recognize there are art style differences or similarities based on time of creation and these differences and similarities are intentional. Some images are clan owned and other images appear to be for general use. For instance, the image of a copper is an image of a copper except for when there is clan ownership on the image because of acts of heroism or otherwise. McClellan’s chapter motifs have proved to be very beneficial in the reconstruction of Kookhittaaan and Gaanax̣.ádi clan connections.

While I was in Angoon, Alan Zuboff allowed me to view a file of patterns that he saved from the trash heap. I have noted the remarkable similarities in McClellan’s chapter motifs in *My*

*Old People Say* (Figure 2.10, image on the left) and Alan Zuboff's finds (Figure 2.10, image on the right). Visually it is easy to see art style connections (shape of raven's head, the pointed beak, the slope of the shoulders and angle of the wings) between McClellan (Teslin) and Zuboff's (Angoon) captured images.



**Figure 2.10: Art Style Similarities Teslin, Yukon and Angoon, Alaska.**

### 2.3 Tlingit Literacy Frameworks

Tlingit people pass knowledge on orally. So how is truth determined; what is truth and why does western research practice place more validity in the written word? Julie Cruickshank, an ethnographer who recorded three Yukon elders, pondered the question of truth and fact finding in 1991. Cruickshank stated that we must question how our ideas of truth are constructed in the first place (1991, p. 8). Cruickshank challenges her readers to find “indigenous” words for “elder and truth”. “Depending on who tells the story; the story has different outcomes. This is classic Tlingit story construct” (Richard Dauenhauer, personal communication and recalling Cruickshank's *Reading Voices* Introduction, November 25, 2011).

Using Tlingit literacy perspectives Tlingit stories and history needs to be understood within the framework and context of geological time (Harold Jacobs, personal communication, November 10, 2010). According to old-time Tlingit history, Tlingit people were pushed inland by the floods (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 16, 2013). According to western science, these floods occurred around nine thousand years ago (Ruth Gotthardt, personal communication, March 28, 2014) and water covered much of Alaska and Yukon (Appendix I), and after the floods, glaciation occurred. Testimonies of inland Ishkahittaaan and Kookhittaaan clan leaders make more sense once understood within the larger Tlingit literacy framework.

From what I have gathered Tlingit literacy frameworks are tangible and non-tangible. As discovered by this research, one tangible Tlingit way to record historical events are the petroglyphs; other tangible ways include drawings on clan dance shirts where there are deliberate meanings associated to shapes. Non-tangible ways to record historical events may be found in the power of stories, and in the power found in Tlingit names, objects, or at places which can be considered at.óow<sup>9</sup> and sacred. Places and objects are tangible; the power in those places and objects is intangible (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, pp. 14 – 15).

Tlingit literacy frameworks are clan-owned and are still “protected with extreme prejudice” (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 18, 2013). It may be asked why the inland Tlingit are telling the same stories as our brethren on the coast of Alaska. Our answer is that these are our stories too, and these stories, clan shirts, and understandings connect us in deep and long go ways to the Tlingit on the coast of Alaska. At the recent Yanyeidí ku.éex' in

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<sup>9</sup> A clan item owned or bought with blood (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, pp. 14 -23).

Juneau, Alaska, Raven clan leaders told me that the outcomes of my research were already known by them.

As per our inland Teslin Tlingit history, we are Tlingit and are connected to Taku (see George Stevens<sup>10</sup> and Teslin Tlingit Council website), Angoon (McClellan, 1953, 1975); Robert Zuboff as co-authored by Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987; Cyril George, personal communication, 2013) and the Gaanax̓ádi and Kookhittaana are one (Tom Peters as co-authored by Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R., 1994, p. 547). From a Tlingit literacy perspective our stories of flood survival can help us visualize how the Deisheetaan from Angoon wound up inland in the Teslin area, then made their way back to Angoon during the time of glaciers (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R. 1987, p.71) . Similarly, Teslin Deisheetaan clan leader Jake Jackson shared flood stories with McClellan (2010, pp. 487 – 495<sup>11</sup>). Dawson Peaks, a local mountain in the Teslin area is known by the inland Tlingit as Tle' Nax T'awei. As shared by Jake Jackson to McClellan (2010) Tle' Nax T'awei is sacred, when the floods occurred the people secured their raft to the top of Tle' Nax T'awei with a homemade rope. They placed the rope around the top of the mountain and then anchored their raft in. “Today, you can still see that rope; if anyone looks at that rope it rains and the whole place gets fogged up. Teslin Tlingit Council has placed a ban on anyone going up that mountain because this mountain is sacred” (Pearl Keenan, personal communication, lifelong learning).

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<sup>10</sup> See page 11 of this dissertation.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix I.

#### *2.4 De Laguna (1960): Understanding the Flood and the Little Ice Age*

“A well-educated man from Klawock told me that the Flood must be imagined as having occurred before the Ice Age, or at least before the glaciers retreated” (de Laguna, 1960, p. 130). “There was a Flood, when all of the people had to go to the tops of the mountains. They built walls of rocks around the tops, like nests” (de Laguna, 1960, p. 131). “[In the Yukon] floods and glacial times occurred around 5,000 – 6,000 years ago. A number of minor temperature oscillations occurred with the peak cold period; called the Little Ice Age dating between 1350 to about 1850 AD” (Ruth Gotthardt, personal communication, March 28 2014). From a bird’s eye view, Angoon, T’aakú Kwáan and Teslin geographically line up and today there is realized truth in the under the glacier and over the glacier stories. The story on the Kookhittaan clan dance shirt as photographed by McClellan (1951) does synchronize with the Deisheetaan stories regarding glacial travel and with geological occurrences such as the floods circa 1300s here in the Yukon. An upside down clan crest indicates that the clan is in distress (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 2013) a feeling the Deisheetaan had when the cannibal turned into a mosquito and as they were migrating back to Angoon (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1987, p. 75).

Maybe this is why the mosquito story is told just before the story of glacial travel – the mosquito is the story mark for glacial times which occurred immediately after the floods.

Daniel Henry of Haines, Alaska is constructing a place-based history for the Haines, Alaska region and has developed a timeline of Tlingit stories and events to aid his writing. Daniel Henry has allowed me to use his unpublished and not for public view timeline in order for me to develop a sense of geological time with respect to clan based migrations in the Klukwan area. Daniel Henry’s unpublished timeline of events contributed to how I put the story together. Henry’s research on the flood stories and glacial travel in the Haines and Klukwan areas does



coincide with the flood stories from Teslin and glacial travel stories from Angoon.

## *2.5 Western Thinking on Myth and Culture Bearers*

Based on existing literature can we begin to delineate western views of Tlingit story and time? Thornton (2004) quotes de Laguna 1960, p. 128 and McClellan, 1975, pp. 70-72 on Tlingit “framework[s] for the development of an appreciation for culture and environmental worldview[s]” (p.16):

- (a) Early mythical time, emphasizing the creation of basic universal elements such as the moon and stars;
- (b) Raven mythical time, focusing on the activities of the trickster demiurge raven whose activities transform the world;
- (c) Legendary time, detailing the origins of clans and events associated with their development, acquisitions of crests, and so forth;
- (d) Historical time, emphasizing events, and so forth, that can be traced to specific culture bearers.

Today, in 2014, there is increasing need to create culturally responsive spaces in order to ensure that the culture and environmental worldviews of Tlingit people are articulated and included in all aspects of research and research design, especially in matters that pertain to us. Inclusion of local indigenous peoples fosters local indigenous research, methods, and local indigenous-led aspects of decolonization (Lavallée, 2009, p. 22, para. 4). As stated by Lavallée (2009), there is increasing need to seek balance between non-indigenous lead publications, research, worldviews, and indigenous peoples. Balanced worldviews are essential for indigenous

people's research to include processes of collaboration and sharing at the ground level to ensure language and culture vitalization and articulation (Shorty, N., *We are talking about our way of life!*, Inland Tlingit Elders, 2013, p. 3). While there is a need to articulate indigenous-led research ethics among the inland Tlingit, it is also important to recognize that history, stories, images, symbols are local, clan-based, and much of our oral Tlingit history is now written down (Dauenhauer N. & Dauenhauer R., 1987, pp. 6 - 8).

Tlingit oratory is endangered (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1990, p. 147). Formal speeches are not just for funerary and memorial party purpose (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1990, p 146). Formal speeches seldom involve the teller. The speaker is the conduit to the history being told and is a master of genealogy, the clan and house system, iconography, songs, histories and more (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1990, p. 14). Regarding the transmission of culture and language, the formal oratory process involves "great care" about the words being spoken (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1990, p.81). Care for words and images being evoked are part of Tlingit constructs, how we put the world together. Today many Tlingit elders remain concerned about words and images being evoked at the general public level. When things are spoken or written it is hard to retract (Marie Olson, personal communication, November 10, 2010). In most cases, what is said or written is adhered to in formal learning institutions and most often is delivered by outsiders to the culture. Hence there is room for error due to what is written.

How do we validate indigenous knowledges considering issues surrounding contact and colonization? Lavallée (2009) indicates that indigenous research in her area must include the medicine wheel, ethical relationships and elders. Research methods for her area include sharing circles, use of symbol-based reflections and medicines, analysis and retelling the collective story.

In order to ensure indigenous research constructs are developed, researchers need to bring forward elders and knowledge bearers as ideas of indigenous identity begin to emerge at public policy tables (Battiste, 2008). Inland Tlingit people have processes to validate history and stories and these processes need to be respected by researchers of Tlingit culture. Generally, Tlingit people will say, “I heard it that way too,” or, “Yes, that’s the way,” or “Where did you get your information from?” especially if the information is questionable. As well, there are several ways to “read” no response (which could mean yes, or could mean no) and in this regard further clarification is necessary.

Today, Teslin Tlingit Council is engaged in defining their heritage laws and policies and will be producing a series of videos on elders’ clan history and knowledges (Justice Initiative as stated at the Elders Council, October 2013, Teslin Tlingit Council). Teslin Tlingit Council (2012) has several inland Tlingit conventions such as Ha Kus Teyea (which is no longer available) and the Teslin Tlingit Council Traditional Knowledge Policy (which is only available upon request to the Teslin Tlingit Council). Teslin Tlingit Council has exclusive access to the Teslin Tlingit Elders Council. The work of this thesis is to “unpack” Gladys Johnston’s statement while respecting inland Tlingit clan and Teslin government’s jurisdiction over inland Tlingit from Teslin, Yukon.

## *2.6 What is This Research Statement About?*

The thesis topic and context to be discussed in this research is my mother’s clan. Mother’s clan is from the Interior (a term referring to the Tlingits in the Yukon and Northern British Columbia). This term was in use by late 1800s (Harris, 1996). There is not much published ethnographic information on or by inland Tlingit moieties, clans, house groups, and

kwáan. Perhaps this is because much of our information remains oral. In many ways, our small community of Teslin, Yukon is at the same place that many indigenous communities are at today; we are quickly losing our connections with our indigenous languages and our indigenous worldviews including indigenous research methodologies and knowledges. The elders and knowledge bearers have become increasingly aware of the need to write down our respective clan histories and clan house origins. Certain regions in the north have more indigenous research – namely Alaska. Emmons (2002), Swanton (n.d.), de Laguna (1960), Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer R. (1994, 1987, 1990) and many other ethnographers are responsible for numerous publications on the Tlingit of Alaska. Written documentation on the inland Tlingit from Teslin includes McClellan (1953, 1954, 1961, 1975, and 2010) and all current research builds on McClellan's ethnohistories which were collected from among the inland Tlingit from the Yukon.

My hearing and learning Gaanax̓.ádi and Kookhittaana clan stories has impacted my concepts of inland Tlingit identity with respect to understanding a statement made by Gladys Johnston of Teslin, Yukon. At a recent burial potlatch, I was told by a person younger than me that by clan rights I, as a Kookhittaana, am to revere the Gaanax̓teidi. At this time I only knew that Mother's biological sister had stated that she was Gaanax̓.ádi (Summer 2012). This exchange illustrated the impact that current literature has on our understanding of our contemporary Tlingit world. That is, clan status is everything (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 17, 2013). While some inland Tlingit from Teslin state that there never was a Gaanax̓.ádi clan here, a few offer testimonies that the Kookhittaana are really Gaanax̓.ádi (Aggie Johnston as witness to Gladys Johnston's statement, Teslin Tlingit Elders Council, October 2013). The late Tom Peters, a much-respected Deisheetana elder from Teslin, Yukon remembers the Kookhittaana and Gaanax̓.ádi being one (Dauenhauer, R. & Dauenhauer,

N. 1994, p. 547). Today, there is no political representation of the Gaanax̱.ádi clan in Teslin and to the best of my knowledge there is no desire to establish any. There are still Gaanax̱.ádi in Angoon (see Appendix J) but there does not appear to be political representation of this clan there either (Appendix K).

The answer to why Gladys Johnston said she is Gaanax̱.ádi cannot be answered through publications alone. With this advice in mind, I set off on a knowledge quest. I was seeking the connections between the Gaanax̱.ádi and Kookhittaan clans. Ironically; what is said regarding clan connections is addressed in literature because Swanton, de Laguna, and McClellan unknowingly validated what Gladys Johnston said regarding Gaanax̱.ádi and Kookhittaan connections. Face paints, petroglyphs, and clans shirts were misunderstood because Tlingit people may not have shared some cultural details with the ethnographers (de Laguna, 1960, p. ix). Perhaps this is why McClellan did not learn the full story meanings of the petroglyphs in Sitkoh Bay (de Laguna, 1960, p.77) nor did McClellan learn the full story about the Kookhittaan clan shirt in Teslin (McClellan, 1975, p. 474).

## *2.7 What Did the Ethnographers Write?*

Davidson (1901) makes the claim that in 1885, “the coast of Alaska and Canada, between Yakutat and St. Elias Mountain Ranges, and the Yukon River, between the Chilkat and Lewis Rivers on the east, and the White River on the west, was a terra incognita (p.75)”. Davidson is responding to a map drawn by Kohklux and his wives (Davidson, 1901, p. 78). This map describes the journey from Klukwan to Fort Selkirk and utilizes Tlingit place names. There are useful descriptions of the trails and the extent of Tlingit control over trade with the Interior via

Klukwan. Davidson's study of the Kohklux map describes the extent of Tlingit property rights by way of trail stewardship and control.

Swanton (n.d.) makes reference to the correct version (p. 409) of stories and states which historical events on clan origin stories is true. In keeping with research ethics today all versions must be considered (Richard Dauenhauer and Alice Taff, Personal Communication, November 25, 2011).

McClellan conducted her research on the inland Tlingit between the 1950s and the 1990s, and essentially, most new research makes reference to McClellan's work. At times, McClellan discusses all three inland Tlingit communities and clans together, and at other times, communities and clans are discussed separately. This may be due to "this is Tlingit (Pearl Keenan, Jimmy Johnston, Emma Shorty, personal communication, 2011) – versus – this is Teslin Tlingit (Pearl Keenan, Jimmy Johnston, Emma Shorty, personal communication, 2011)" and "Deisheetaan is Deisheetaan no matter where you are" (Maxine Thompson, personal communication, November 16, 2013). McClellan (1975) writes that individuals, Tlingit families, and clans did travel on the Taku River Trail. McClellan also says that the trade rights on the Chilkoot and Chilkat Trails belong to coastal Tlingit (1975, p. 5). There is no written mention of who controls the trade on the Taku River Trail to the traditional territory of the Teslin Tlingit people. Below are the results of my literature review with respect to the Teslin Kookhitta Clan.

## *2.8 Emmons (2002) Lists the Kookhitta*

George T. Emmons took notes and recorded his time among the Tlingits beginning in 1880 until his death in 1945.

Raven Tlingit Clans in Alaska as per literature connections to Mother's clan story (Emmons, 2002)

Gaanax̲.ádi (1)

Deisheetaan (13)

Aanx̲'aakhittaaan (14) (listed as sub house of Deisheetaan)

Kookhittaaan (29)

**Figure 2.11: Emmons Lists the Kookhittaaan as a Clan in Alaska**

Among Raven clans in Tlingit Alaska, Emmons (2002) lists the Aanx̲'aakhittaaan (p. 436, #14) as a sub house of the Deisheetaan (p. 436, #13) and included in his overall list of Tlingit clans the Kookhittaaan as a Raven clan (p. 436, #29). As per Emmons (2002) it appears that the Kookhittaaan are a sub house of the Deisheetaan, later Swanton (n.d., p. 399) links the Aanx̲'aakhittaaan to the Kookhittaaan. Literature says that the Kookhittaaan and Gaanax̲.ádi are one (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1994) and an inland Tlingit dance garment suggests a connection to the Deisheetaan (McClellan, 1951).

McClellan connects the Kookhittaaan from Teslin to the Gaanax̲.ádi from Angoon (1953, p. 47). Hence, one of my filters while reviewing literature was Angoon. Kookhittaaan are listed under the theme of Construction: Pit, Kookh: Raven 13 (Emmon's places a question mark here) at Chaik (Emmons, 2002, p. 444). The Gaanax̲.ádi dwelled at Chaik before Angoon was founded; Chaik was settled by the ancestors of the Deisheetaan and the Aanx̲'aakhittaaan (Thornton, 2012, pp.108-109).

## 2.9 Swanton (n.d.): Tlingit Clans by Place

“John Reed Swanton began his scientific career in 1900. One of Swanton’s first big jobs was to research and collect ethnographies among the Tlingit in Alaska” (Steward, 1960). By reviewing Swanton I get the sense that Tlingit Alaska was divided up among ethnographers (Davidson for Chilkat, Swanton for Southeast, de Laguna for Yakutat and Angoon, and McClellan for Inland). In Swanton’s *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians*, clans are listed by place and not all clans are represented in each village and this is largely due to clan splits, disagreements, and clan numbers and migrations.

- Swanton writes that Tlingits trace the origins of their clans to the Tsimshian coast below Port Simpson at the mouth of Skeena River (n.d., p. 407):
- At Taku: Gaanax.ádi are listed as people of Gaanax (Swanton, n.d., p. 399).
- At Hutsnuwu (Angoon): Deisheetaan, Aanx’aakhittaan (or Kookhittaan – people of the house in the middle of the valley) are listed (Swanton, n.d., p. 399).

## 2.10 Swanton (n.d.): Tlingit Clans by House Groups

A house group is moiety-based and usually ending with “ádi” (Nora Dauenhauer, personal communication, October 10, 2008).

- On page 403 Swanton (n.d.) reveals the following: at Taku, Gaanax.ádi are listed as the house group and Ishkahittaan is listed as one of three sub houses of the Gaanax.ádi; At Angoon, Deisheetaan and Aanx’aakhittaan are listed as house groups. John Swanton (n.d.) writes that the Aanx’aakhittaan are Kookhittaan (p. 399, see “Hutsnuwu”);



## 2.11 Swanton (n.d.): Ishkahittaaan is a Lineage House of the Gaanax.ádi

Ishkahittaaan is a lineage house of the Gaanax.ádi at Taku (p. 403). See Sam Johnston's testimony page 86 as our common ancestor's name is Yeskeich Aantoox.usaax.

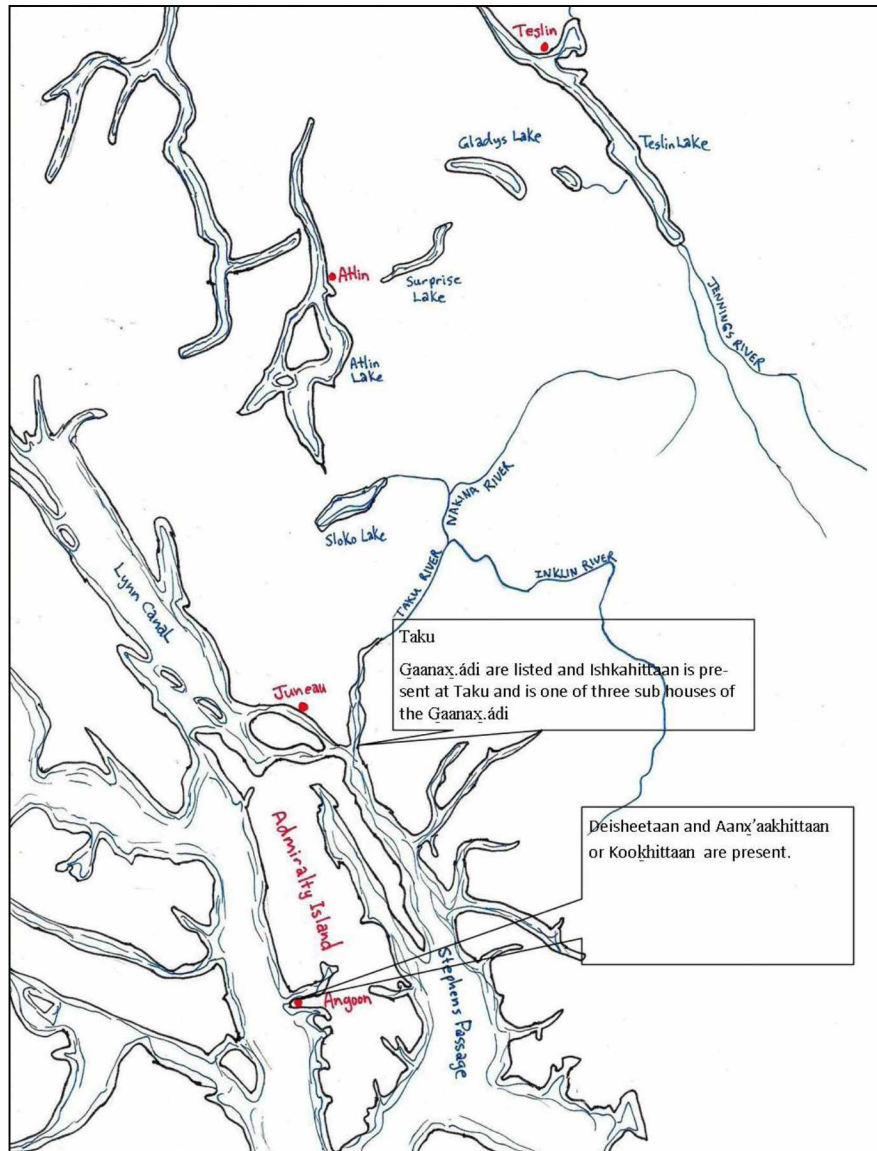


Figure 2.12: Swanton's Raven Clans Regarding Gaanax.ádi and Kookhittaaan Connections<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ukjese van kampen (Cartographer), (2014) area map of the Inland Tlingit was commissioned by Norma Shorty for this dissertation.

## 2.12 Garfield (1947): *When the Gaanax.ádi Left Angoon*

In 1947, Viola Garfield reports that the Gaanax.ádi were the first Ravens in Chatham Strait (p. 440) and that the Gaanax.ádi came to Chatham Strait from Prince of Wales Island and Kuiu Islands in Alaska. The Gaanax.ádi are also at Tongass, Taku, Chilkat, and Yakutat. Garfield writes that there are two Raven clans: Deisheetaan and Aanx'aakhittaaan in Angoon. The Aanx'aakhittaaan, like the Deisheetaan, trace their ancestors to the Stikine River and the Aanx'aakhittaaan claim the dog salmon as their crest. The building of Aanx'aakhittaaan came about due to a homecoming of one L'eeneidí woman with her eight offspring (1947, p. 442). Garfield does not mention or associate the Kookhittaaan with the Aanx'aakhittaaan (see Swanton, n.d., p. 399). Andrew J. Davis of Juneau is Garfield's Tlingit language informant (1947, p. 440). He was Wooshkeetaan. His name was Tuxaawgú (Harold Jacobs, personal communication, May 5, 2014).

“When the Gaanax.ádi left Angoon they left a symbol of copper in the rocks to record the surrendering of their territorial claims to the Deisheetaan. Those Gaanax.ádi that stayed behind may have become absorbed into Deisheetaan” (Garfield, 1947, p. 441).

## 2.13 De Laguna (1960): *1890 Kookhit is Part of the Deisheetaan in Angoon*

De Laguna completed her field work for *The History of a Tlingit Community: A Problem in the Relationship between Archaeological, Ethnological, and Historical Methods* in Angoon, Alaska during the summer months of 1950. The ethnological investigation on de Laguna's field trip was conducted by Dr. Catherine McClellan (1960, Preface, p. x). According to de Laguna's research another clan house in Angoon, and known only from Emmons' list of 1890 and Andrew

Davis's list of 1928, is Kookhit, Pit Cache House of the Deisheetaan (de Laguna, 1960, pp. 177-178). de Laguna (1960) lists that the "Pit Cache House was lost by the Deisheetaan) and the location of this house is not certain" (p.179 #17). Andrew Davis is an informant for de Laguna and lists house #17 (de Laguna, 1960, p. 178) as Kookhit but is not certain about its location. In 1928, Kookhit of the Deisheetaan was occupied by James Hilton, and then by Pete Hobson and Augustus Hart of the Eagle-Wolf moiety, and by this time was no longer Deisheetaan clan lineage property (p.184). In the 1950s de Laguna reported that Kookhit is an ancient clan house in Angoon. The community memory of Angoon goes back to the 1920s and to clan migrations during the time of the floods and the little ice age, including clan splits (see Appendix D for these stories).

#### *2.14 De Laguna (1960): Evidence of Kookhit in Ancient Angoon Houses*

According to de Laguna, Kookhit means "Pit Cache House" (1960, p.184). In November 2013 the Kookhit was once where the Bear house now is (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 18, 2012). In Angoon the Kookhit house was alienated by the Deisheetaan and is not mentioned by the Deisheetaan because it is no longer clan property (de Laguna, 1960, p.184).

At the time of the Deisheetaan and Gaanaxteidí split the Kookhit must have aligned themselves with the Gaanax.ádi, or the Kookhittaan may have aligned with the Gaanax.ádi when some of the clan became Gaanaxteidí, or maybe as Tom Peters suggests, the Gaanax.ádi and Kookhittaan are one (Dauenhauer, N., and Dauenhauer, R., 1994, p. 547). Perhaps these are some of the reasons why Gladys Johnston says she is Gaanax.ádi.

### *2.15 De Laguna (1960): The Gaanax.ádi and Deisheetaan Split*

In Sitkoh Bay near Angoon, the Gaanax.ádi House was ceded to the Deisheetaan (de Laguna, 1960, p. 64; Garfield, 1947, p. 441; Goldschmidt and Haas, 2000, p. 70).

de Laguna(1960) quotes Garfield (1947) who states that at one time the Deisheetaan in Angoon were subservient to the Gaanax.ádi and when the Gaanax.ádi left Angoon they carved a picture of a copper shield at Angoon to symbolize the wealth that they were giving away (1960, p.134).

The following oral history explaining the reason for the clan split is based on accounts given by the same de Laguna informant at different times (1960, pp. 134 – 135).

Version 1: (pending permission)

There was a clan called Ganaxadi (Gaanax.ádi) that at one time lived on a place called Ganaxcanuwu. They separated over a woman. Some moved over to Taku; those that remained behind were then called Decitan.

A woman married to one of the Ganaxadi men fell in love with a young man of the Decitan. She took a big square wooden box, called lakt, and kept her boyfriend inside it. When they were moving about she did not want anyone else to handle it. The young man was inside. Once they were moving, from where Charlie Anderson has a farm. The woman was away (she happened to be busy with something else), so the husband picked up the box. It was very heavy, which made him suspicious. When he got it on his shoulder, he tried to shift it. He made sudden jerks up and down, and that made the young man in the box grunt. The husband packed the box along. He knew what was in it. He went on packing the

box along until he came to a big round rock (xil) on the beach on which he threw down the box with all his strength. The box broke, and he killed the man with a club. This caused bitter feeling in the clan. Both the husband and the lover were Ganaxadi. So the big clan separated over it. Some of them stayed here. Those that stayed behind called themselves the Decitan. The Ganaxadi went to Taku. At the feast after the Ganaxadi people had separated they say that over forty slaves were sacrificed (by the Decitan?) [The informant does not know whether the slaves were killed or given to the opposite moiety, because the phrase used, gux^ wuduAdjIq].

Version 2:

There is a similar story about Turn Point. The girl has a boyfriend. The family was moving. They had boxes, with the cover tied on with ropes. This girl got him in there; so he's going to stow away. They think it out. One of the men is going to pack it, the box. He was getting it onto his shoulders, jerking the box to get it on his shoulders. He heard something inside. He came to a boulder on the beach. So he began to shake the box. The man [inside] made a sound [grunt] from the jerk. So he threw the box down on the stone and smashed his head.

That's why the people split. They talked it over for years. The women were going to play a hockey game. Whoever lost was going to move from Angoon.

They were the Ganaxadi and the Decitan playing against each other. My tribe is Decitan. The Ganaxadi were ahead of us, were the boss. They were above

the Decitan. We tried to be a nation with them, like Japanese under U.S.A. The Ganaxca (women) lost the game, so that settled the trouble. They went over to Taku, Haines, Kake, Klawak, Hydaberg, Ketchikan, and Wrangell.

When they were going, they got out (offshore) a little way and called: “You people got no place, got no home—k'elangayfcu.” So the Decitan made a name out of it, Langucu. Mathew Fred, President of the ANB, has that name. Another name they were calling: “You people have no tribe—nacuxcica.” The name from that is Nacuhayi. The beach boss at Hood Bay, Robert Johnson, has it. Another name was: “Your heart is pounding because you're afraid—yi'i yu taq' tuti gin.” The name is Qudaqti.k—a young Decitan child has it. The Ganaxadi had been saying that to the Decitan for years. When they make a name they shorten the word a bit.

## *2.16 Garfield (1947) and Swanton (n.d.): Where Did the Gaanax.ádi Wind Up?*

Garfield (1947) affirms with Angoon people Swanton's findings that the Gaanax.ádi from Angoon resided at T'aakú Kwáan (p. 441).

According to Gladys Johnston's statement one can surmise that a branch of Gaanax.ádi migrated inland to the Teslin region in Yukon, Canada.

Also, when the Gaanax.ádi left Angoon it is said that some Gaanax.ádi relocated to Chilkat, Taku, and Yakutat, Alaska where they were still regarded as high rank (Swanton, n.d., p. 408).

### *2.17 McClellan (1975, 1953): Who Are the Kookhittaana?*

The ancestors of the Kookhittaana were supposed to have gone down the Taku River to Seenáa, a place near Sumdum Glacier, long before there were any other Tlingit in the Juneau, Alaska area, and the implication is that they were then Athapaskan speakers (McClellan, 1975, p. 474). McClellan discusses “S’ina” (a place near Sumdum Glacier). At S’ina the Kookhittaana report a clan split due a herring rake being swung in the wrong way. This caused a fight and some Kookhittaana went to Taku Harbor and then up the Taku River to Nakina. McClellan makes reference to a totem pole at Nakina a crow with two heads hanging from its mouth. This totem was stolen away by a coastal branch of this sib (McClellan, 1975, p. 474). What is of interest here is that a member of the Deisheetaan clan indicated that it was his clan that took this totem back (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 18, 2013).

McClellan says that the Teslin Tlingit Kookhittaana house originates from a clan house inside of a Gaanaxádi clan house, which is in Angoon (1953, p. 47). McClellan cautions the reader to not confuse the Kookhittaana (Pit Cache House, Raven Moiety) with the Kookhittaana (Box House, Wolf Moiety). McClellan (1953) writes that the Kookhittaana derive their name from hole, which refers to a hole in the center of a Gaanaxádi house in Angoon where the women and children hid in case of an enemy attack (p. 47).

McClellan (1953, p. 47) writes that the Tlingit clans in Teslin are:

- Deisheetaan (has a strong presence at Angoon);
- Kookhittaana (branch of the Gaanaxádi);
- Ishkahittaana (branch of the Gaanaxádi), and

- the Wolf moiety only has Yanyeidí. See mention of a Yanyeidí feud (McClellan 1975, p. 463) regarding a clan split between Old Yanyeidí and New Yanyeidí. Note that Jim Fox is called Old Yanyeidí by McClellan (2010, p. 595) and is also remembered as Dakl'aweidí by his granddaughter. Jim Fox lived to be 110 years old and was also known as a Dakl'aweidí clan leader amongst the Teslin Tlingit. These clan split details are important clues as to how fluid Tlingit culture seemed to be with respect to your clan house membership versus your clan moiety (which you can never change).

A closer review revealed evidence of the Kookhittaán clan existing in Alaska and beyond T'aakú Kwáan. Edgar Sidney says that the name Kookhittaán was taken by a branch of the Gaanax̓.ádi after some members of the group moved to Angoon (McClellan, 1975, p. 475). Once in Angoon the Gaanax̓.ádi clan split again because there were too many people in one house. This lineage, Edgar Sidney reports, built a new house, Antcuk'ahit, Village End House (McClellan, 1975, p. 475). Edgar Sidney was born in Auke Bay and is a Teslin informant for Catherine McClellan (she does not name her informant and as an insider it is often easy to figure out who is talking<sup>13</sup>). Edgar Sidney is the stepfather of Mother's father (Emma Shorty, personal communication, 2008). Edgar Sidney's real<sup>14</sup> name is Joseph Aron and Edgar's paternal grandfather is Jimmy Fox, "Analahac, from Juneau" (McClellan, 2010, p. 729).

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<sup>13</sup> I can determine who is talking because of Mother's and other Teslin people's descriptions of people they knew. As well, McClellan leaves big clues such as the teller's Tlingit name (McClellan, 1975, p. 459 top right where she talks of K. G. Qusqan [Mother's grandfather: Jim Fox whose Tlingit name is "Qusqan"]).

<sup>14</sup> "...when [Joseph Aron] went to school in Sitka, the teachers, following missionary practice, gave him the name of a 'good and pious lad' who had recently died in Pennsylvania. So he became Edgar Sidney" (McClellan, 2010, p. 729).



See McClellan (1954, p. 90) for a sentence about a vacant Raven house of the Kookhitta in Teslin. In the text of this literature the reference to the Kookhitta reads more like a house belonging to the Kookhitta and not a clan house of the Kookhitta.

Pages 90 to 91 of “The Interrelations of Social Structure with Northern Tlingit Ceremonialism” (McClellan, 1954) discuss an important feud between the Old and New Yanyeidí (also see McClellan, 1975, p. 463). Daḵl’aweidí elder, Mrs. Pearl Keenan discusses this Wolf moiety event as well and states that it was John Sidney (Daḵl’aweidí), Mother’s father who settled this feud by replacing an important clan object. This information is brought forward here in order to perpetuate the paternal family history of Mother.

### *2.18 New Ethnographers*

De Laguna (1960), McClellan (1951), Cruikshank (1991), and Leer (Jack et.al., 1985) worked amongst indigenous peoples in the north and recorded the peoples’ voices on specific topic areas and in many cases interpret what is being seen and said through an anthropological and linguistic lens. To be clear, many objects, stories, histories, events are brought forward that would have otherwise been unavailable. The early ethnographical works of Emmons (2002) and Swanton (n.d.) form the foundation of de Laguna (1960), Garfield (1947), Leer (Jack et al., 1985), Crippen’s (2014) clan work and Andy Hope’s (2003) Tlingit Country Map. Emmons (2002) and Swanton (n.d.) are referenced in many more manuscripts and publications, including my own. At the same time, western research standards on published materials may eliminate many cultural items and testimonies because these sources may not pass as a legitimate source of

information; APA refers to these items as grey literature<sup>15</sup>. As well, concepts of “Indian” sacredness in many cases were classified as superstition and non-tangible aspects of indigenous knowledges were rarely acknowledged without being scoffed (héixwaa<sup>16</sup>) at (Fox, 2004). Today, ethnographers and researchers work in different ways among indigenous peoples and, in many cases, are themselves local indigenous peoples and/or are commissioned by the indigenous peoples themselves. Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R. (1987, 1990, 1994), Andy Hope, (2003), Goldschmidt and Haas (2000), Thornton, (2012, 2004), and Alan Zuboff (personal communication, November 2013) Harold Jacobs (personal communication, 2011), Cyril George (personal communication, 2013), to name a few have completed extensive and important work among Tlingit peoples with respect to place names, local oral history, and Tlingit peoples.

#### *2.19 Leer (Jack et al., 1985): Tlingit Literacy Workshop*

Jeff Leer worked among the inland Tlingit in May 1985 towards understanding Tlingit moieties, clans, and crests. The Tlingit Literacy Workshop utilizes the historical knowledge of “speakers and teachers of the Tlingit language who live in the communities of Atlin, British Columbia and Carcross, Teslin, and Whitehorse, Yukon Territory” (Jack et al., 1985, p.1). Clans represented at this inland Tlingit literacy session include Yanyeidí, Dakl’aweidí, Deisheetaan, Gaanax̓.ádi and Gaanax̓teidí (Jack et al., 1985, p. 3). As per the Tlingit literacy session in 1985, Gladys Johnston, Kookhittaán, clearly aligns with the Gaanax̓.ádi group. Jeff Leer and the

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<sup>15</sup> Not peer reviewed (American Psychological Association, 2010, p. 205).

<sup>16</sup> Good [Pearl Keenan, personal communication, 2013; Emma Shorty, personal communication, 2013; Sam Johnson, personal communication, 2013; Jimmy Johnston, personal communication, 2013] sympathetic magic, charm (Edwards, 2009, p. 418).

participants of the Tlingit literacy session do list clans from Carcross and Teslin, Yukon and Atlin, British Columbia. Leer's local inland Raven Moiety clan name collection included Gaanax.ádi, Deisheetaan, Ishkahittaaan, Tukyeidi and Kaach.ádi (Jack, et al., 1985, p. 16). Note that none of the participants at the inland Tlingit literacy session are from Tukyeidi and Kaach.ádi. It is not clear which of the inland Tlingit communities these listed Raven moieties are local to. Also it is important to recognize the importance of Leer's early works to my research as without the record of what Gladys Johnston said in 1985 I would have no other written documentation of her declaration of belonging to the Gaanax.ádi clan. As per the current land claim agreement the Raven clan moieties in Teslin are: Ishkeetaan, Kookhittaaan, and Deisheetaan. There never was any mention of my family belonging to the Gaanax.ádi clan in all of my growing years. The "tingit literacy workshop" (Jack et al., 1985) is considered grey literature because the work is not peer reviewed. It is clear that Leer's early clan work does serve as important and foundational background research for Bausler and Twitchell (2012) and Crippen (2014). Leer's 1985 work with inland Tlingit peoples (Jack and others) was foundational to this dissertation. It is in Jeff Leer's workshop that Gladys Johnston claims to be Gaanax.ádi (Jack et al., 1985, p. 3).

## *2.20 Goldschmidt and Haas (2000): Haa Aani, Our Land*

It is generally accepted among the Natives that the Taku people themselves came from the Interior (Goldschmidt and Haas, 2000, p. 38). At the Taku River, it was said by Mrs. Jennie Klaney informant #28 that "before the border was put in the Taku village was on the Canadian side and later was moved to the mouth of the river. At the mouth of the Taku River there were three houses which belonged to the Gaanax.ádi clan and two houses belonged to the Yanyeidi"

(Goldschmidt and Haas, 2000, pp. 41-43). Anna Rasmussen informant #29 said, “Port Snettisham includes Seenáa” with a question mark (p. 119). Patty Skeek informant #88 discussed Admiralty Island on the west shore of Stephens Passage, “this area was used by Gambier Bay Jim and his clan, the Gaanax̱.ádi; and the Gaanax̱.ádi used to have a village at Taku” (Goldschmidt and Haas, 2000, p. 179).

Sitkoh Bay was formally claimed by the Gaanax̱.ádi clan and as a result of a disagreement people separated there. Goldschmidt and Haas (2000) determine this split occurred prior to Russian arrival in Alaska [1784] (p.70).

#### *2.21 Hope (2003): Traditional Tlingit Country*

The Traditional Tlingit Country Map, (Hope, 2003) does not include Gaanax̱.ádi as a clan among the inland Tlingit communities of Atlin, Tagish, and Teslin. But when the search is broadened to include T’aakú Kwáan (the origins of Teslin Tlingit) Hope (2003) shows Gaanax̱.ádi as the main Raven moiety at T’aakú Kwáan, including Ishkahittaán, Kookhittaán and Tooka.ádi.

The Kookhittaán clan is not found throughout Traditional Tlingit Country, especially at S’awdaan Kwáan (Seenáa). An inland Tlingit from Teslin indicates that Seenáa is the birth place of the Kookhittaán clan (Crippen, 2014). The Kookhittaán clan house is not mentioned at Angoon, Alaska. This may be because Kookhit is no longer the clan property of the Deisheetaan and/or Gaanax̱.ádi (de Laguna, 1960, p. 64) due to a dispute between the Deisheetaan and the Gaanax̱.ádi in Angoon (1960, p.133).

Including T’aakú Kwáan, the Kookhittaán clan is listed at the inland communities of Atlin, British Columbia, Tagish, Yukon and Teslin, Yukon (Hope, 2003).

*2.22 Crippen (2014): Reviews Unpublished Tlingit Tribe, Clan, and House Group Names by Jeff Leer (Jack et al., 1985)*

Crippen (2014) states that his work is descriptive and references available knowledge (ethnological and oral historians) on Tlingit kwáan, clans, and houses. Crippen's review enhances Jeff Leer's notes on tribe, clan, and house research, which was conducted by Emmons (from 1888 to 1945) and de Laguna (from 1955 to 1977). What is useful about Crippen's process of presenting indigenous information is that the validation method itself invites readers to verify clan knowledges with their own local and regional knowledge bearers and elders. Crippen's clan research methods are on-line and current; Crippen's research process is inclusive of literature, and involvement of current Tlingit communities, clans, house groups, and moieties.

Atlin, Tagish, and Teslin are three distinct Tlingit communities and each has their own "moieties, clans, house groups, and kwáan" (Crippen, 2014). Crippen does indicate that there may be a connection between the Deisheetaan and the Gaanax.ádi based on a shared name, Geetwein (not explained and this relationship is not clear). Crippen's clan work shows Gaanax.ádi among the T'aakú Kwáan.

Crippen (2014) does not include Kookhit in Xutsnoowú Kwáan. Note that the location of the Kookhit is recorded in Angoon as House #17 and is associated with the Deisheetaan (de Laguna, 1960, p. 179). Crippen indicates that Kookhittaaan are in the Kiks.ádi Group. Swanton (n.d.) and Emmons (2002) also reports that Kookhit is Deisheetaan.

Crippen's work allows me to see that there is a gap in western and indigenous research on or about the inland Tlingit. There is not a lot published by the interior Tlingit for the interior Tlingit (Dakka Kwáan is Atlin, Tagish, and Teslin) or anyone else. Crippen's clan information

about interior moieties, clans, house groups and *k̓wáan* are very limited and are often marked with “?”<sup>17</sup>. This lack of information points to a lack of published works about the inland Tlingit.

For Teslin, Crippen lists Ishkahittaaan, Kookhittaaan, and Deisheetaan clans under the Raven moiety. As per James Crippen’s clan documentation, Jeff Leer’s informant Mabel Johnston reports that the Kookhittaaan migrated from Seenáa (Snettisham?) to the interior. Mabel Johnston is Gladys Johnston’s and Mother’s maternal aunt.



**Figure 2.13: Fox Family Circa 1932, From Left to Right: Maude Smith; Olive Sidney (Mom’s mother); Annie Fox (Johnston) aka Ollie Fox; Mabel Johnston; Maggie Jackson; Lily Jackson (Smith). Photo Courtesy of Millie Hall, 2013.**

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<sup>17</sup> See Kookhittaaan # 4 under Kiks.ádi Group (Crippen, 2014).

### 2.23 Thornton (2012): *Haa Léelk'w Hás Aaní Saax'u: Our Grandparents' Names on the Land*

T'aakú Kwáan developed after other parts of the coast were settled (Thornton, 2012, p. 68, quoting Swanton, n.d.). In this document there is “scant” research on T'aakú Kwáan. T'aakú Kwáan territory extends far inland due to trade connections. Thornton writes that T'aakú Kwáan were made up of those Tlingit who gathered around Juneau and was one of the later Tlingit communities to settle. While reviewing stories brought forward by the team of elders and local researchers who worked with Thornton (2012) the story about old Angoon mentions a Gaanax̓.ádi house (pp.108 - 109).

In Sitkoh Bay, Thornton writes, the Gaanax̓.ádi House was ceded to the Deisheetaan (Thornton cites de Laguna, 1960, p. 64; Garfield 1947, p. 64, 67). Thornton (2012) quotes de Laguna and writes that Sitkoh Bay was an important site of the Gaanax̓.ádi before it was ceded to the Deisheetaan. Thornton (2012) indicates that Chaik is Whitewater Bay and was once the ancestral homelands of Aanx̓'aakhittaan, Deisheetaan, and Gaanax̓.ádi before Angoon was founded (p. 108).

### 2.24 Krause (1979): *The Tlingit Indians*

The population at T'aakú Kwáan was 269 in the 1880 census taken by Chief not by Clan (Krause, 1979, p. 69). Krause states that Samdam (Sumdum) are sometimes counted with the T'aakú Kwáan. This may be an important clue about how we should think about areas like Seenáa.

### 2.25 Harris (1996): *Schwatka's Last Search*

In the Yukon and prior to the 1898 Klondike gold rush the trade trails were monopolized among the coastal Tlingit<sup>18</sup>. The Taku River route inland is lesser known and (is) virtually unexplored. In 1891, Schwatka was commissioned by southern United States newspapers to trek inland via the Chilkoot Trail. Schwatka was convinced while he was onboard the steamship to explore and map the obscure Taku River trail to the Interior (Harris, 1996. p. 13). This Taku River trail leads to the Teslin Tlingit.

In understanding how long Tlingit people have been inland it appears for as long as legend remembers (Harris, 1996, p. 33). As written in Harris's book, Schwatka, whose purpose was to create maps, walked inland via the Taku River trail, 1891 and took notes on how Tlingit tie trees together to mark the way and/or claim territory. Schwatka could not have known about the petroglyphs in Sitkoh Bay, the clan shirts, or special markings, which more than likely denoted significant history and early land claim details.

### 2.26 Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1987): *The Little Ice Age Approximately 1550-1890*

One particular migration story is always prefaced with the cannibal story and the birth of mosquitos. This particular story is set in the time of the little ice age. Mosquitos are created by the killing of a cannibal and this act was done when the Angoon Deisheetaan were living in Teslin.

We were living in the Interior. Our life there was so hard. The salmon from the ocean they would come up for us to eat...it was hard to live in the

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<sup>18</sup> See Kohklux Map (Davidson, 1901). This story is about Tlingit ownership of the Klukwan to Fort Selkirk trade trail.



Interior. It was so hard the people ate each other. There were cannibals at that time. That was what we would tell about when we migrated to the coast” (Robert Zuboff as recorded and transcribed by Dauenhauer N., & Dauenhauer R., 1987, pp. 73-81).

Nora Dauenhauer has worked extensively among her Tlingit people and in the 1970s she recorded Robert Zuboff, then clan leader of the Deisheetaan Clan, Angoon, Alaska. Nora and her husband, Richard Dauenhauer published the transcriptions of Nora’s raw data. *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives (1987)* has provided me with enough information to understand how the glaciers impacted the Deisheetaan clan. During the time of the flood and the mini ice age, circa 1300s, I have determined that the Deisheetaan and the Gaanaxádi clans were still in harmony. Goldschmidt and Haas say that the disharmony between the Gaanaxádi and Deisheetaan clans occurred prior to Russian arrival at Sitkoh Bay (2000, p. 70).

## *2.27 Nora Marks Dauenhauer Tape Collections*

Nora Marks Dauenhauer has worked a lifetime amongst her Tlingit people, recording and transcribing Tlingit language speakers and historians. Nora Marks Dauenhauer was recently widowed by her longtime love and companion – Dr. Richard Dauenhauer and may he rest in eternal peace. Nora Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer have co-authored many important Tlingit classics and historical works.

Nora Marks Dauenhauer’s Tape Collection (2013) of oral historians in Tlingit language and thought is invaluable to my research project especially because the tapes are digitized and catalogued. My research is particularly focused on stories on migration and flood as per the Teslin, Yukon area, including Angoon, Alaska.

Between the years of 2009 and 2011, “metadata was collected with the support of National Science Foundation/National Endowment for the Humanities Documenting Endangered Languages award #0651787 to the University of Alaska Southeast”. Below is an excerpt from the metadata which describes a migration of the Deisheetaan clan back to the coast of Alaska. Robert Zuboff’s interview is being described by Nora Marks Dauenhauer.

Robert [Zuboff] is telling a story about salmon. He is telling about when the people were moving from Teslin to Stikine, which is by Wrangell. They walked for years and some of the people did not survive. There were two old women among them. The two old women were sent down under the glacier, which was by the river. The two old women began to sing on the other side of the river. Some people were afraid to go. They went all the way to Chilkat and Taku. This is a Deisheetaan story. He says that there was a wooly mammoth in Alaska (Nora Marks Dauenhauer Tape Collection, Metadata Spreadsheet, Cell T200).

#### *2.28 Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1987) on Robert Zuboff’s Father and the Stikine Migration*

Robert Zuboff begins to discuss the history of his father who is Daḱl’aweidí. In one place the [Stikine] river flowed under a glacier.

The story of my father’s migration in the beginning, many say we migrated here through the south...and, you know, there are many who migrated down the Stikine River. The story of my father’s is always told, of when they [the relatives of my father] migrated down the Stikine. At one place, there, in the river,

the river flowed under a glacier. This is where they tied a raft together. They put the elderly women on it. One's name was Awasti and the other Kowasikw, these elderly women. They were the first ones who were pushed under the glacier. Having drifted under it and through to the other side, they started singing. Floating under the glacier gave them their song. Based on this a raft was made. Some went on it. Under it, under the glacier, they floated, down the river. But many of them were afraid to float under the glacier. This is why they started over it, some started over the glacier. These are the ones who came down the Chilkat, the relatives of my fathers, the Daḡl'aweidi. They became the Chilkats. The name that came from those who went over the glacier is Sitka indeed, those who came down through Chilkat, are named Sitka. Those of us who are Deisheetaan, still tell it like this, as coming from the South, from the south. I wonder where we came out, those of us. I wonder where we came out. From there we finally went northward, northward, we began searching. They tried many places. Villages were founded in many places. At that time across from Brown Bear Fort, when it froze, they walked over ice at that time, at the point when they moved across. Well! There are many who are our relatives, these Deisheetaan, some are living in the Interior. Since long ago, they have been living there. They are many, Nahoowu lives there and this namesake of mine. Shadaax is also there, in the Interior. You know, thinking about them, if they've been living there a long time,

maybe we separated and migrated from them. This is what I'm thinking about them<sup>19</sup>... (Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R. 1987, pp. 67 – 71).

## 2.29 *Mosquito as Retold by Robert Zuboff*

We were living there in the Interior. Our life there was so hard. The salmon. From the ocean they would come up for us to eat. The salmon. And these how good they tasted to us, the salmon. It was very hard to live in the Interior. It was so hard the people ate each other. There were cannibals at that time. That was what we would tell about when we migrated to the coast. What we would tell about. What we would still tell about. There was this one family whose food was getting scarce. Then one of them went hunting for something he could kill. When he didn't come back down his younger brother went to search for him. Then he didn't come back down either. When he didn't come back down the youngest one, maybe he was seventeen years old, maybe eighteen years old, the youngest one, was crying as kept on searching for his older brothers (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, p. 75).

To fast forward this story, the cannibal killed his brothers, he escaped and killed the cannibal with a club from the cannibal and burned him. All that was left was ashes, and he wanted to hurt the cannibal some more so he blew the ashes into the air. The ashes turned into mosquitos, that is why the mosquito comes to suck our blood...they were once cannibals.

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<sup>19</sup> Robert Zuboff, Basket Bay, Lines 84 – 158.

The Lord above created this world. He loved us very much, us in this world. Mosquitos were created by the world. That is why there is a story about it, when we were living in Teslin, Teslin. It's beside the big lake. The place is called Caribou Cross, the place where animals cross. Right near it is called Teslin. There are many people there, we are many. We are still there. They speak our language (Dauenhauer, R. & Dauenhauer, N., 1987, p. 79).

The cannibal story is associated with glacial times because when Cyril George retold the mosquito story that Robert Zuboff told; the story order remained consistent first the Cannibal, then the birth of mosquitos story, and then came glacial migration. These stories are about the Deisheetaan migration from the inland back to the coast. As seen on an inland Teslin Tlingit Kookhittaana clan dance shirt (McClellan, 1951) the image of the mosquito places the story at the time of the floods which occurred just before the mini ice age.

### *2.30 Flood and Migration Story as Retold by Robert Zuboff*

See Appendix L and Appendix M for Daḡl'aweidi and Deisheetaan stories on the flood from the Alaska perspective.

Flood and migration: When it became a village, the Xanaxadi became our relatives. A woman separated us. A woman kept a man in a bent wood box. They threw the box on the rocks, when it broke and the man came out, they clubbed him to death. They had a meeting to go check out Angoon; they liked it, returned and told the people to pack. Beaver took them there. The first house they built was Raven Fort, then others were built. They fought with the

Xanaxadi. The Xanaxadi insulted us and made fun of us no land no noble people among us. We kept those insults as names. He found a petrified rope; he wondered why the rain or snow didn't destroy it. He was so old and it was still there. It is still there. Jimmy tells us close to today the world froze, and the Athabascans came down on it. He says that while he was alive, the Athabascans people died off (Sitka). That is how it was told. (Nora Marks Dauenhauer Tape Collection, Cell T149).



### **Chapter 3 Research Results**

As a result of this research, Mother's Tlingit existence is clarified through oral history, archaeology, clan crests, clan stories, knowledge bearers, elders, including current place-based literature, government publications and photographs, coupled with what is printed in many early books. In seeking to understand my family's history, here are a few guidelines:

- Do not dismiss literature.
- Allow time for the cultural stories to percolate.
- Present and discuss research findings at Tlingit-specific events and with local elders and knowledge bearers.
- Respond to and respect the guidance received.
- Attend cultural events and participate in field trips.

It was in Angoon that many significant insights were revealed to me. The entire story collection and all the research that I gathered finally began to make sense! It was there that other deeper Tlingit ways of knowing were revealed. Héixwaa – good magic [P. Keenan, E. Shorty, J. Johnston, S. Johnston], sympathetic magic, and charm (Edwards, K, 2009) occurred.

It was a cold clear full moon night and I was frying bacon so that I could make simple salmon chowder. Earlier I had been warned about bears and it was said that one could possibly show up at the window (which I thought might not be true). But then there was a scratch on the window and this made my hair stand on end. Then I remembered: mind – keep your mind strong (Winnie Peterson sharing the teachings of her mother Carrie Jackson). So I went about my



business and ate some dinner, watched some television and then tried to go to sleep. Sleep would not visit. So I began to read.

Earlier that day, Maxine Thompson had lent me her copy of an obscure and out of print text, *The Story of Tlingit Community: A Problem in the Relationship between Archeological, Ethnographic, and Historical Methods* (de Laguna, 1960). It was in this book that I found mention of the Kookhitta<sup>n</sup> house existing in Angoon. Not only that, but the book fell open to the appropriate pages – passages and paragraphs jumped off the page, images and pictographs, and the stories of Alaskan elders and knowledge bearers finally began to make sense.

The wisdom of Harold Jacobs, Alan Zuboff, and Cyril George served as a guide to unlocking the mystery of Gladys Johnston's statements, Jimmy Johnston's statements, Sam Johnston's statements, including images and in-print sources, such as Swanton for face painting, de Laguna for petroglyphs, and McClellan for Kookhitta<sup>n</sup> clan shirt images and chapter motif shapes. On the second day of my five-day visit to Angoon, Alaska, Alan Zuboff shared that the image of the raven with two heads is a record of a clan split between Gaanax̓.ádi and Gaanax̓teidí. McClellan had indicated that this is an image of a raven with two slave heads.

When I Skyped this news to a fellow indigenous scholar, Dr. Ukjese van Kampen, he sent me the image of the Kookhitta<sup>n</sup> clan shirt (McClellan, 1975. p. 341). As well, van Kampen sent me his photo collection of this shirt and his drawings of McClellan's images. What is of great interest here is the image of the mosquito is dropped by McClellan (1975, p. 341) and then re-added by Ukjese van Kampen, 2014. Ukjese van Kampen has copyright on his drawings and I have his permission to use his drawings in my research. Now I am reading McClellan's collection of stories in a new light. McClellan is reporting and collecting the stories and images as she hears them and I am grateful for her story record. When McClellan begins to interpret

(analyze) the data using her idea of Tlingit story time, I can see how she misread the images on the front of the clan shirt of the 1950s Kookhitta Clan Leader in Teslin (who McClellan does not name). At the onset of this research I could not make sense of the images either – except to guess it was a clan crest. I know that McClellan was a field ethnographer to de Laguna in the 1950s in Angoon, Alaska and then McClellan did work with the inland Tlingit.

Indigenous literacy frameworks must be indigenous-led. From my dissertation process I learned that Tlingit literacy means that I am able to understand and speak Tlingit, I am able to read some of the messages on our petroglyphs (de Laguna, 1960, p.76), on our clan shirts (McClellan, 1951), see meaning in headbands (McClellan, 1975, p. 463), and able to place our stories together using Tlingit sense of time and more. Tlingit literacy is our Tlingit language as expressed in our place names, in our names, in our history and stories, and in our systematic expressions of our existence (petroglyphs, stories, clan shirts, ku.éex', and more).

I must address the deep trauma and social issues in our communities (suicide and the lack of success of indigenous men in our institutions of learning) today. These traumas are a direct result of issues surrounding contact and colonization amongst Yukon First Nations. As, indigenous peoples we need time to sit and think together on our history and how best to portray this. The most important learning of all in Tlingit culture is to know who you are. To develop literacy and curriculum, here is a toolbox for determining indigenous processes.

Select knowledgeable experts who are chosen by the elders. In the curriculum developed by Pearl Keenan, Emma Shorty, and Jimmy Johnston, they determined who was a knowledgeable person, and they determined how outsiders to the culture can select culture bearers.

Allow time for collaboration and validation of historical and knowledge constructs at the community level and amongst them. This time for dialogue must be done in isolation of outside influences so that history, methodologies, or any other questions and affirmations may be first discussed among indigenous elders and knowledge bearers. This must occur due to the deep wounds inflicted upon indigenous learning and teaching methodologies. Knowledge belongs to the people not to individuals.

Allow discussion and agreement of process on how to fit traditional knowledge into nontraditional schemes such as public education. Determine what belongs to public education and what belongs to First Nations.

### *3.1 Tlingit Methodologies: Finding Truth*

A few years before I enrolled for my doctorate in indigenous studies, a well-respected woman from Teslin came to visit me and began to share what she knew about my clan origins. This historian is from the opposite clan and she began her story by saying:

I know I am not supposed to say this because I am a Yanyeidí woman. When I was growing up I would hang around where my daddy talked and did business and one time I heard them discussing how the Gaanax̓.ádi in Teslin became part of the Kookhittaana. Now you guys (Emma Shorty nee Sidney) wear the Kookhittaana emblem (Children of the Raven).

Besides using our Tlingit validation system of passing on unsolicited knowledge, my visitor's ancestral memories matched what I had learned from reading Gladys Johnston's statement in a published proceeding of an Inland Tlingit literacy session. This statement further matched what I

found as a result of my work with Dauenhauer, R. & Dauenhauer, N. (1987, p. 497), where their informant states how the Gaanax̱.ádi and Kookhittaan in Teslin are one.

This chapter contains the results of my research quest. I am utilizing both newly learned and already acquired Tlingit methods when addressing my research question.

First, as a rule, in Tlingit society you only have the right to speak about your own clan's history, and no one else's. I have a place and voice in my clan and am able to research and write about my clan only.

The second Tlingit research method requires that research be elder- and/or community-led. Initially, I thought my research would be interview-based and that I would be working extensively with genealogy. What was surprising was that the Teslin Tlingit Elders Council told me to work with what is published and to leave genealogy alone. Now I realize that the elders' council is continuing their own work on defining what Teslin Tlingit is. They have commissioned Teslin Tlingit Council research and will videotape clan-based stories on inland Tlingit clan origins. Currently, there is research being conducted by the Teslin Tlingit Council with respect to the Bonner and Bessie Cooley Genealogy charts. Our well-loved and current Kookhittaan Clan Leader, Jimmy Johnston, will remain loyal to culture constructs and pass on his knowledge to a Kookhittaan man. He does not want to be videotaped for this research project. This same Kookhittaan Clan Leader, Jimmy Johnston, has been instrumental towards the development and completion of this dissertation. Without Jimmy Johnston's contributions my research would not be possible because his knowledge about Kookhittaan clan origins brings forward inland testimonies about Kookhittaan.

The third Tlingit research method that I have utilized is an old (but newly acquired by me) knowledge process on Tlingit oratory. It is here that I realize how formal Tlingit systems to

passing on knowledge really are. As presented by the late Dr. Richard Dauenhauer and his widow, Mrs. Nora Dauenhauer, there are formal oratory processes and the most formal of all is the funerary or memorial oratory process. In this memorial setting family and clan ties are affirmed.

The fourth Tlingit research method that I utilize is that it is not polite in Tlingit society to talk about yourself. This too is newly acquired knowledge and hence, it was serendipitous that this dissertation focuses on Mother's clan stories. There have been several Tlingit occasions where I have experienced the wisdom of these words and the most memorable experience happened while I was in Sitka for Mathilda Gamble's ku.éex'.

The evening before the ku.éex' there was a teaching session hosted by George Bennett, Raven Hat Holder of Sitka, Alaska. The topic of the Tlingit talking circle was ku.éex' and how to behave at one. It is here that the notion of not discussing yourself was affirmed because the culture teacher focused the discussion on how you speak at a ku.éex'. It is not polite to say, "What an honor it is for me to be here," or to say, "I am honored to be chosen to speak to you," because when we speak formally we speak for our clans and our nation. "It is considered proper to bring your clan symbols into your speech".

Again, this was serendipitous because the next day I was invited by the Raven Clan Leaders to stand among them to address the Kaagwaantaan hosts of the ku.éex'. This move honors where the coastal clan leaders place the inland Tlingit from Teslin, Yukon. It is important to socially and politically place your clan well within Tlingit society because at the ku.éex' there is a lot of politicking going on (Maxine Thompson, personal communication, November 16, 2013). It is important to note that it is not common custom for Tlingit women to stand among Tlingit clan leaders in times of formality.

The fifth Tlingit research method that I utilized is that our stories, worldviews, politics are local and specific to our locality. Hence, the references to the “Deisheetaan in Angoon and the Deisheetaan in Teslin” are made to indicate locality.

My study includes a literature review and reveals how literature, Tlingit historians, knowledge bearers and elders are all essential components towards understanding what was written in the literature. By addressing a statement made by Gladys Johnston my study reveals Tlingit literacy, Tlingit concepts of time, and shows how coastal and inland Tlingit recorded Tlingit clan history on rocks, face paints, and a clan shirt. This inland Tlingit clan shirt reported by McClellan (1951) as being kept by a Kookhittaan clan leader indicates that the Tlingit have been in the Teslin region by or before the 1300s (mini ice age).

### *3.2 Tlingit Time and Importance of Story Sequence as it Responds to Geological Time (Harold Jacobs, Alan Zuboff, and the Late Cyril George)*

From an indigenous knowledge perspective, our histories belong to the collective (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 16, 2013). It was surprising to hear opposite clan history from coastal Tlingit historians. Today, at Teslin, we hold knowledge, stories, and histories tight to our chest. This may be due to the residual effects of mission school, coupled with strict clan ownership and jurisdiction over Tlingit clans, stories, and crests. Mission schools in Canada served to wipe out culture of indigenous peoples and today self-determination efforts are working towards revitalizing our culture.

In retelling clan origin stories it is very important to get the sequences right (Harold Jacobs, personal communication, November 13, 2013). The stories must follow geological time frames, hence, the first stories to be told are the migration stories based on the floods and then

the little ice age. The late Deisheetaan elder, Cyril George, recounted a cannibal story (how mosquitos first came to be) and this story is always retold before the Deisheetaan migration story. The Deisheetaan migration story appears to begin at Teslin, Yukon and follows the Deisheetaan clan migration back to Klukwan and Angoon on the coast of Alaska. Perhaps this story accounts for why McClellan refers to the Kookhittaan as Athapaskan speakers (1975, p. 474). According to coastal Tlingit migration stories the Deisheetaan clan was pushed back to the interior due to flooding waters. The Yukon and Alaska were flooded over nine thousand years ago. After the floods a mini ice age occurred (de Laguna, 1960, p.130). It is very important to piece the story about my mother's clan together as it occurred in geological time as our stories follow a geological time frame sequence (Harold Jacobs, personal communications, November 13, 2013).

### *3.3 Harold Jacobs, Personal Communication on the Gaanax.ádi and Deisheetaan Split*

In Tlingit society it is not uncommon to hear the same story from different sources; this process of many people saying the same thing brings forward notions of validity. Harold Jacobs recounts the story of when the Gaanax.ádi in Angoon were being pushed out by the Deisheetaan and clan insults were hurled by the Gaanax.ádi to the Deisheetaan. A potlatch was held and these insults became high-ranking names among the Deisheetaan (Harold Jacobs, personal communication, January 12, 2012). As the Gaanax.ádi were pulling out from shore at Sitkoh Bay they were hurling one insult after another at the Deisheetaan: "This isn't even your country, you're full of witchcraft, there's no high caste among you, you don't care what you eat, you are not half the people you think you are and you look like women!" These insults became big Deisheetaan names:

- L.aangooshu (Man without a Country),
- Heexhoo (Witchcraft),
- Lxhooda.aanyadi (No High Caste among You),
- Lx'eineek (Don't Care What You Eat),
- Naashuhaayi (Not Half of What You Are), and
- Shaayaxh (Look like Women).

As far as I know there is no “western” timeframe for this event (see Mathew Fred’s version of this event below). Harold Jacobs did indicate that this particular clan split might be recent history. This event may account for inland Tlingit stories about Seenáa, Juneau, Douglas and T’aakú Kwáan. Perhaps these locations were the stopping points of the Gaanax.ádi (Kookhittaan<sup>20</sup>) who left Sitkoh Bay.

### *3.4 Matthew Fred, as Quoted by Maxine Thompson, 2013, on the Gaanax.ádi and Deisheetaan Split*

To address these insults Mathew Fred, the late clan leader of the Deisheetaan said to his daughter, “three copper shields were thrown into the waters in front of Angoon; the value of each shield was enormous even at that time” (Maxine Thompson, personal communication, December 9, 2013). This time of the Gaanax.ádi and Deisheetaan clan split is carved in stone (Appendix N – see 5) as there is a copper image at Sitkoh Bay, a Gaanax.ádi village near Angoon, writes de Laguna (1960, p.76), and she is quoting Garfield (1947, p. 441). This copper image, writes Garfield, symbolizes the wealth that the Gaanax.ádi are giving away (see Appendix F: Reason

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<sup>20</sup> Tom Peters, Deisheetaan from Teslin states that the Gaanax.ádi and Kookhittaan were one (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1994, p. 547).



for Deisheetaan and Gaanax̓.ádi Split). Emmons writes that clans throw away wealth when they are insulted in order to embarrass and show up the offending clan (2002, p. 47). Emmons further notes that retribution is repaid when things of equal value are destroyed by the offending clan.

### 3.5 Cyril George, 2013: the *Gaanax̓.ádi* and *Deisheetaan Split*

“Cyril George gave back my life” (Emma Shorty, personal communication, 2013). Mother said this just after hearing Cyril George tell the cannibal and migration story of the Deisheetaan from Teslin to Angoon.

I have heard this story from the late Cyril George twice. The first session was following a dinner, and at this session Harold Jacobs, Lorraine DeAsis and her four children sang the migration songs that accompanied the story of a Dakl’aweidí migration from the Stikine to Angoon. At the time of hearing the songs I did not yet make a distinction between the Dakl’aweidí Clan and Deisheetaan Clan migration stories because I was still in the research-gathering phase of this dissertation.

The second time I heard this story was at another dinner hosted by Harold Jacobs. The late Cyril George retold the Deisheetaan migration story for Mother, all in Tlingit. Harold Jacobs, Lorraine DeAsis, Bertha Karras, Sam Bob, and I were also at this session. Cyril George told this story in Tlingit to Mother; Harold Jacobs and Bertha Karras provided translation for those of us who are at entry level Tlingit. While it is unfortunate that there is no recording of these sessions – save our notes and memory, I am blessed to find these stories in the Dauenhauer texts and Nora Marks Dauenhauer recordings (see “Basket Bay History” and “Mosquito” as told by Robert Zuboff).

At my second hearing of the migration stories Cyril George told the Mosquito story first and then proceeded to discuss the migration from the Stikine (Dakl'aweidí) to Angoon and from Teslin (Deisheetaan) to Angoon. As per my literature review, the Deisheetaan migrated back to Angoon from Teslin and this story is prefaced with the Cannibal or Mosquito Story (Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R., 1987). The key themes in the “Cannibal” or “Mosquito” stories are living in the interior, hardship, migration from Teslin, and glaciation.

### *3.5 Inland Teslin Tlingit Timeline of Events*

As noted by McClellan, Yukon First Nation perceptions of time are linked to geological occurrences such as the flood, and the little ice age<sup>21</sup> (McClellan, 1975, pp. 74, 446-447). Time is also tied to events such as clan disputes, war, and supernatural occurrences. At the onset of this research there were few materials on the inland Tlingit from Teslin.

Information about early Tlingit days are written and recorded by Catherine McClellan and her record of Tlingit people talking although misunderstood has been crucial in piecing together this story.

The literature on inland and coastal Tlingits provided the foundation and story frameworks which helped determine how to view McClellan's contributions on the inland Tlingit from Teslin. For instance looking to de Laguna's informants with respect to floods in Angoon and comparing these with flood stories from Teslin it is easy to see how this major environmental event is recorded by coastal and inland Tlingit alike.

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<sup>21</sup> A Dakl'aweidí from Tagish is discussing Dakl'aweidí migration. These stories correlate with Robert Zuboff stories involving the Stikine River area.

### 3.6 Pearl Keenan: *“How Long Have the Inland Tlingit Been Here?”*

According to elder Pearl Keenan we have been here in this region since the time dinosaurs roamed the earth:

We are inland Tlingit people. Our people have been here since the dinosaur's days. We have governed ourselves by justice, culture, language, clan system. The inland Tlingit from Teslin have five clans – which have the Raven, Frog, Beaver, Eagle, and Wolf...clan emblems. We are spiritual people and many of us are Christian believing people. The Creator put us here as Tlingit people and we know we are meant to be a group of Tlingit people with our laws and traditional ways and culture and to govern ourselves. We have to answer to our clan for any wrongdoing – and the penalty is very severe when we break Tlingit law. We have our justice system, which is very strong, and it governs our lives. And this justice system was with us for a long time (Shorty and three Tlingit Elders, 2013).

Whether or not humans and dinosaurs roamed the earth together is of no consequence to the teller because this story is intended to mark how long inland Tlingits have been in the Teslin region.

From a cultural perspective all Yukon First Nations have stories of living among mammoth sized creatures and these stories may or may not correlate with prehistoric indigenous finds (Greer, 2004, p. 9). In my father's Athapaskan country there are stories about giant worms and frogs and man-eaters and mammoths (Gotthardt, 1986, pp. 91 – 94). “Mammoths or elephants used to live in Yukon. When the mammoth hollered, they say that people would fall

down from shock” (Gotthardt, 1986, p. 93). Pearl Keenan from Teslin, Yukon talks about a large man-eating animal that had supernatural abilities and could change itself at will (personal communication, November 2012). The Beringia Centre here in Whitehorse showcases the woolly mammoth an animal which roamed the Yukon around ten thousand years ago. Where western and indigenous knowledges converge – you know there is truth. There were mammoth sized creatures here in the Yukon and the ancestors of father and mother’s people lived among the mammoth sized creatures here in the Yukon.

### *3.7 The Floods: Jake Jackson (Inland Tlingit: Deisheetaan)*

Ten to fourteen thousand years ago in the Yukon there was a great flood. Jake Jackson makes a comment about the flood story to mark how long Tlingit have been in the Teslin region. (See Appendix I for Jake Jackson’s telling of the floods in Teslin).

Coastal Tlingit say that it was the floods that pushed Angoon into the Interior (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 18, 2013; Cyril George, personal communication, 2013). Robert Zuboff invokes the name Teslin (Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R. 1987, p.79).

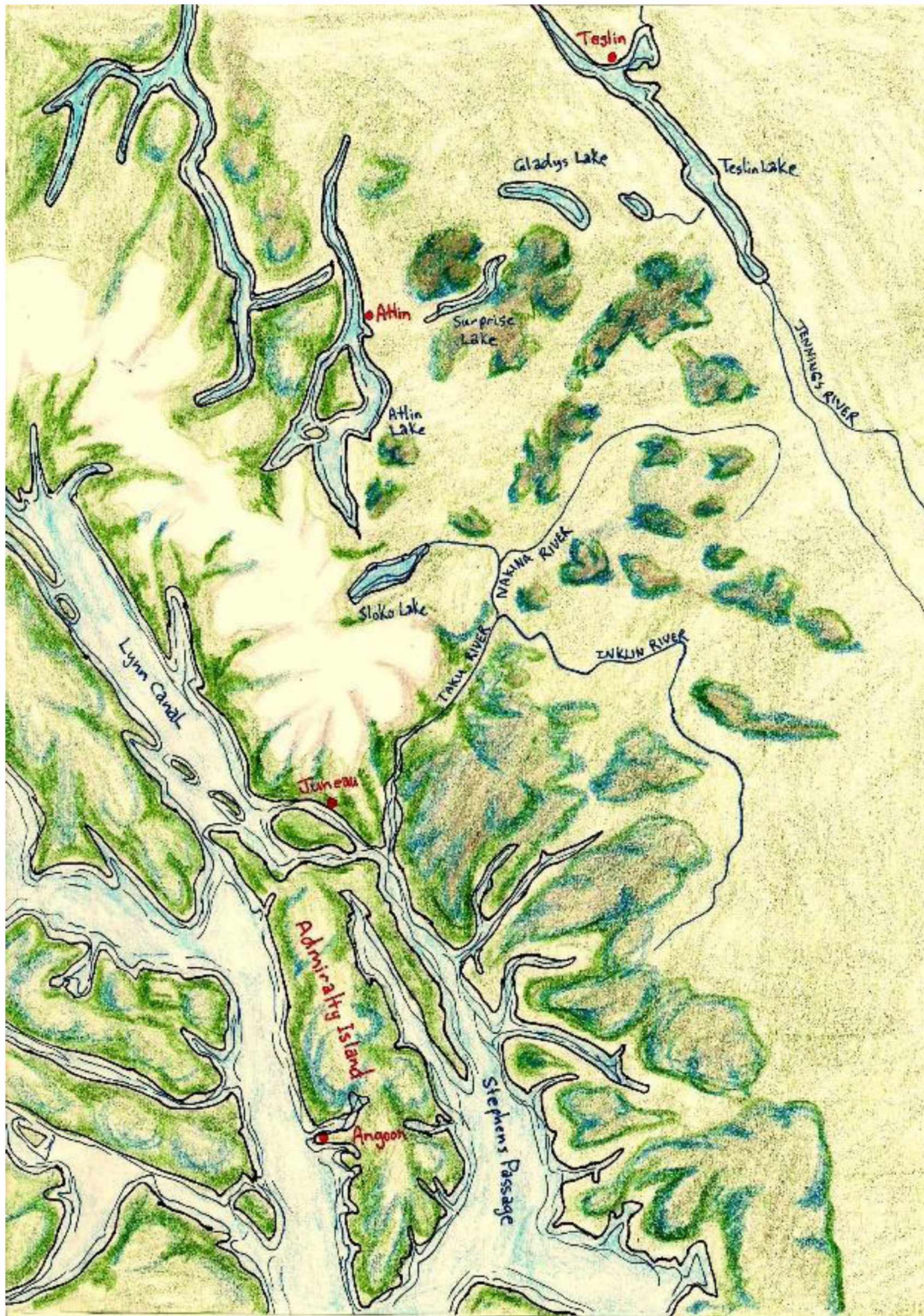


Figure 3.1: Teslin, Yukon and Angoon, Alaska (van Kampen, 2014).

### 3.8 *The Little Ice Age*

The flood was followed by a great glacial age followed by a period of great warmth (McClellan, 1975, p. 74). The little ice age occurred circa 1200 to 1500 AD. While there are few stories associated with the little ice age, McClellan (1975) does give excellent examples of flood stories among the inland Tlingit and in particular one of these flood stories is the Jake Jackson (Appendix I) flood story atop “Three Aces<sup>22</sup>”. It is clear that Jake Jackson is from the Deisheetaan clan (McClellan, 1975, p. 482). Other stories of glacial travel are owned by the coastal Deisheetaan and these stories involve Teslin, Yukon and Angoon, Alaska. “The flood waters pushed the Deisheetaan from Angoon back to the Interior. After the floods pushed the Deisheetaan back to the Interior it took the Deisheetaan 40 years to migrate back to Angoon” (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 17, 2013) .

Those of us who are Deisheetaan still tell it like this, as coming from the south, coming from the south. I wonder where we came out, those of us. I wonder where we came out. From there we finally went northward, northward, we began searching. They tried many places. Villages were founded in many places. At that time across from Brown Bear Fort, when it froze, they walked over ice at that time, at the point when they moved across. Well! There are many who are our relatives, these Deisheetaan, some are living in the Interior. Since long ago, they have been living there...maybe we separated and migrated from them.

(Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, quoting Robert Zuboff, pp. 69-71)

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<sup>22</sup> Dawson Peaks or Tle' Nax T'awei.



Some of the glacier stories that are published are owned by the Dakl'aweidí and these stories involve the Stikine River region. "These are the ones who came down the Chilkat, the relatives of my father's, the Dakl'aweidí. They became the Chilkats" (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, p. 69).

### *3.9 Teslin Migration Stories*

Save Jake Jackson (McClellan, 2010, pp. 487- 495) there are few stories to be found on inland Teslin Tlingit migrations and/or glacier travel; however, there is one recent story of Long Ago Man Found in the Ice. He is named Kwaday Dan Sinchi. Some Eagle and Wolf clan Tlingit from the Teslin area have a DNA link to Kwaday Dan Sinchi. Kwaday Dan Sinchi was travelling Tlingit territory (Yukon Historical and Museum Association, 1995) around one hundred and fifty years ago. Kwaday Dan Sinchi was found in ice near the Champagne Aishihik First Nation. Perhaps Kwaday Dan Sinchi was on his way to Fort Selkirk, Yukon or beyond (Champagne and Aishihik First Nation, 2009).

### *3.10 Participant Relations*

The process of inquiry begins in Teslin, Yukon and expands virtually out to T'aakú Kwáan and literally to Angoon, Alaska. McClellan's early work records S'ina, Taku and Angoon, Alaska as communities of origin among the Kookhittaana from Teslin, Yukon (1975, p. 475).

Based on inland Tlingit Elders' Council advice my dissertation focuses on literature and what is already published or known. The research participants are those people who contributed

to knowing about Teslin, Kookhittaán, or Gaanax̓.ádi. At the onset of this research journey I am researching as an insider to the Tlingit culture and I did not want to engage in western style research among Tlingit people. A main underlying theme of this research is decolonization and the articulation of what is Tlingit and in order to determine what Tlingit is we must examine Tlingit as Tlingit. Oddly enough this decolonization journey relied upon literature and so it is that literature that provides the foundation of my research. Many details gathered along the way made absolutely no sense at the time of hearing or learning about them. The Tlingit elders assured me that it would make sense at some point.

The Juneau, Alaska participants included Harold Jacobs, the late Walter Soboleff, and the late Cyril George. The coastal participants told stories or hosted dinners where stories involving a migration from Teslin to Angoon were told and songs were sung. The coastal participants shared their own oral histories about the Tlingit from the Teslin region and many times we engaged in “on the spot” teachings, meaning I was not prepared to “interview” with microphone in hand. Mostly, this lack of “research formality” occurred as I did not know the outcomes of my research journey and could not tell how a significant piece of information might fit because I did not yet know the outcomes of my research question. Most often I was travelling with Mom and we were attending a culture event or discussion. Mother and I travelled Tlingit Alaska with the view of finding our family connections (in a quiet Tlingit kind of way). There are particular ways to behave at culture events and discussions. For instance a ku.éex' is a very formal event and is not suitable ground for a fixed research agenda.

When I was in Angoon I was not prepared with pencil, microphone, notepad. Instead I went to discover what I could because Angoon, Alaska was mentioned in McClellan’s books with respect to the Kookhittaán from Teslin, Yukon. The research participants in Angoon are the



current Deisheetaan clan leader, Alan Zuboff and his wife, Marlene Zuboff. Maxine Thompson, sister to Marlene Zuboff, who also contributed to this research by renting me a short-term stay apartment in Angoon, lending me reading material and a notepad, providing rides and information, and by setting up my initial meeting with Alan and Marlene Zuboff.

The Teslin Tlingit participants are the Teslin Tlingit Elders Council and some individual Teslin Tlingit elders. I have worked with several Teslin elders and knowledge bearers developing a thirteen-week curriculum for the School of Social Justice at Yukon College and many of these same elders assist me in teaching an on-the-land course called First Nation Values 390, including Cross Cultural Education 200 and 300 at the Yukon Native Teacher Education Program (degree granted from the University of Regina). These same Teslin Tlingit elders are involved at the Department of Education, Government of Yukon, with respect to the delivery of education and policy, curriculum development and in-school supports. The Teslin elders that gave direction to this research did so informally and usually, at down times at meetings or at discussion tables. Teslin Tlingit elders have made it clear that Teslin Tlingit Council are working with the history and knowledge bearers towards video recording clan origin stories.

Foods and gifts shared among inland and coastal elders and resource peoples are not always thesis related. It is interesting to note that since joining the PhD program I have also mastered the art of cross-border trade and I am exercising my rights as an inland Tlingit to gather and trade foods across the Alaska-Yukon border. I have also learned to clean, cut, dry, and jar sockeye salmon; I have learned more about our First Nation medicines; I have picked and traded berries and mushrooms for black duck, caribou, deer (foods that are exotic where I live). Many of these food-gathering activities have brought many of my friends and family together for working and feasting. This food gathering and trade is in tribute to a time in 2010 when I first

heard about “greasing the trail”. Nora Dauenhauer was talking to Mother and I about opening up the trade trail again – the trail between the inland and the coastal Tlingit.

### *3.11 Who Am I?*

At birth, Grandmother Olive Sidney gave me her Tlingit name – Yeskeitch (Works Well with Her Hands). Dad was a Crow and Mother is a Raven – they broke Indian law so the people would not name me (E. Shorty, personal communication, 2011, on ferry ride from Skagway to Juneau). If Father were from the Wolf clan then all would have been right according to Tlingit marriage laws, because Tlingit people are only supposed to marry to the opposite clan.

I received my second name Aantoox.usaax (The Cry of the Raven above the Land) when I was thirteen. At a headstone potlatch in Teslin, Yukon, I had calico placed on my shoulders and the pile went just over my head. I walked around with Mother and Auntie Gladys and they gave this cloth out to opposite clan members. Based on my past experiences this cloth giveaway is done to pay those who witness your name giving. At the time of receiving my second name I had just approached womanhood. Today, I am a fifty-eight-year-old Tlingit woman and I am graciously approaching eldership. I earned a Master’s degree from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2004, and it was during this time that I first heard about indigenous researcher Linda Smith (1999).

What Dr. Linda Smith had written about decolonization schemes resonated with me because of where Yukon First Nation peoples were politically in the area of self-governance in the Yukon. In 1990, the Umbrella Final Agreement (Minister of Northern Affairs and Northern Development, 1993) was signed by three levels of government and Yukon land claim agreements were kicking in (Council of Yukon First Nations, 2015). Many Yukon First Nations were

beginning to articulate decolonization schemes in order to define, implement, and evaluate our indigenous ways of governing ourselves. As Yukon First Nations negotiated for governance and self-determination so too did the Government of Yukon for territorial jurisdiction over public lands, policies, and more.

At the onset of my PhD program and thesis writing I had a hunch that I would find very little on the topic of my mother's clan because the topic itself is so focused. So I was not surprised to find that there is not a lot of published ethnographic information on or about inland Tlingit moieties, clans, house groups, and *kwáan*. Perhaps this is because much of our information remains oral and today, the inland Tlingit from Teslin commonly resist writing down Tlingit and clan knowledge due to heightened awareness around clan jurisdiction over histories, songs, and dances.

Teslin, Yukon is at the same place that many indigenous communities are at today; indigenous communities are at great risk of losing our indigenous languages and our indigenous worldviews, including indigenous methodologies and knowledges (Archibald, 2008; Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Battiste, 2008; Brayboy, 2006; Leonard, 2007; Palmater, 2011; Paterson, 2001; Smith, L., 1999; Smith, G., 2000; Wilson, 2009). Inland Tlingit elders and knowledge bearers from the Teslin region have become increasingly aware of the need to preserve and perpetuate Tlingit history and history constructs, including our clan histories and clan house origins (Teslin Tlingit Elders deliberations, November 2013). As evidenced in early books and publications, inland Tlingit history appears to begin when explorers (Harris, 1996), gold seekers (Thornton, 2004, pp. 7-8), scientists (Teslin Tlingit Council, 2015 and Greer, 2004), genetic mapping (Richards et al., 2007), ethnographers (Emmons, 2002; Swanton, n.d.; McClellan,

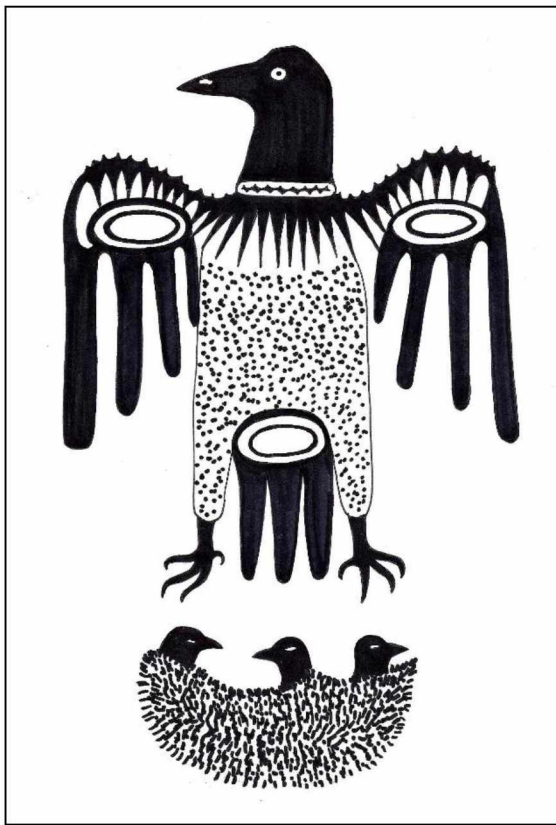
1953) and others discovered us (Duane Aucoin, personal communication, 2011; Marie Olson, personal communication, 2010).

Tlingit history, place names, stories about heroism and war, and concepts of Tlingit literacy are missing from many current public and government websites. In Canada, the government wanted to assimilate Indians so that it could relieve itself of its fiduciary obligation to Indians under the British North American Act (Frideres & Gadacz, 2012). The Government of Canada funded Indian Mission Schools and its teachers. In the 1920s up to the 1950s Yukon mission school teachers were loath to acknowledge existing systems of indigenous history, lands, knowledges, and indigenous languages (King, 1967). Hence, it is not surprising that my research seeks to address a deeply personal story because the story remained untold to me and my mother at the time of research engagement, 2010; research and stories of Mother's clan made little sense to me right up to my field trip to Angoon in November, 2013.

### *3.12 Inland Tlingit Kookhitta: Mother's Mother and Grandmother*

For the purposes of understanding this story some genealogy is discussed but only as it relates to tracing Mother's clan lineage and history. Mother recalls that her mother, Olive Fox (Yeskeich Aantoox.usaax), was born at One Hundred Mile, on the Nisutlin River, near Teslin, Yukon. Olive's mother was Annie Fox nee Johnston (Tlaanak). Tlaanak, it is said, was born in Douglas, Alaska and was orphaned at an early age. Tlaanak's mother is buried in Douglas. Mother's great grandmother's name is Yeskeich Aantoox.usaax (Emma Shorty, personal communication, November 2013) and Yeskeich Aantoox.usaax's grandmother is Kugultin (H. J). As seen below the clan emblem for the Kookhitta is Raven with three babies. If the Kookhitta and Gaanaxádi are one (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1994, p. 547) then this image

of the Raven (Gaanax̱.ádi) with three babies will have some connection to Kookhittaaan and Gaanax̱.ádi clan origin stories. McClellan (1975, p. 477) does discuss off shoots of the Gaanax̱.ádi clan in the Teslin area. McClellan's informant (Edgar Sidney, the man from Auk) names Deisheetaan, Ishkahittaaan, and Kookhittaaan as offshoots of the Gaanax̱.ádi (1975, p. 477). This image was redrawn by Ukjese van Kampen October 13, 2014 from McClellan, 1975, p. 65.



**Figure 3.2: Raven With Babies.**

### *3.13 Insider Research Methods Among the Tlingit*

I left Juneau on the evening of November 12<sup>th</sup> 2013, and I arrived in Sitka on November 13<sup>th</sup> 2013. In light of what was ahead of me I had purchased a berth for an all-night rest. I awoke

in Sitka, where I intended to go to the museums and archives; instead I volunteered alongside the family of Matilda Gamble for her payoff party. In our Tlingit system, the payoff party is a big event as the potlatch is viewed by Tlingits as our court of law (Andy Gamble, Kaagwaantaan Clan House Leader, personal communication, November 16, 2013). As a volunteer I met many people who are knowledge bearers or are elders of the Tlingit culture. As the party neared I was released from my volunteer position as I am a Raven and at this party the Ravens were sitting.

While in Sitka I did make extensive contacts with knowledge bearers who have a lot of knowledge about archives and museums. I met Sue, a retired archivist in Sitka, who is adopted into the Kaagwaantaan and was also working for the Kaagwaantaan party. Sue indicated that in order to find my genealogical connections I should work with the Tlingit names (a notion that I had started to consider myself). Sue stated that a lot could be found in Juneau at the state archive, depending upon what I am looking for. I met Joanne, Andy Gamble's wife and she stated that she had years of transcripts on discussions held at Andy's table with Dr. Walter Soboleff and others. Andy's tables always seem to lead to opportunities to engage in discussions with each other about ancient and modern ideas on being Tlingit. Please keep in mind that the task of this research is to record the story gathering processes and to not work on genealogy, hence the work of examining Tlingit names may occur at a later date under the auspices of Teslin Tlingit Council.

George Bennett, a Raven Hat bearer, holds Tlingit classes in Sitka; the topic of the night I attended was on understanding the ku.éex' and how to give speeches at the ku.éex'. In George's Tlingit class it was said that we need to include our clan symbols into our speech.

At the ku.éex' I was seated among the Coho (L'ukaax.ádi) next to the Coho matriarch Ethel. Ethel provided cultural transcription of what was occurring at the ku.éex'. At the ku.éex'

the Raven clan's men recognized our inland ancestors by calling for the inland Tlingit woman to stand among them at the opening or first response to the Kaagwaantaan grief. At the ku.éex' the inland Tlingit were acknowledged and recognized by our coastal Tlingit Raven Heads of State. I was called upon to address the Kaagwaantaan, to let them know that our inland Tlingit Raven clan hat was out, if not physically, in spirit, to acknowledge and recognize the grief of the Kaagwaantaan. As I spoke I remembered that I had to incorporate the Raven clan symbol into my speech and said, "Kaagwaantaan, (they called out in response), my ancestors who bear the Raven and her children are here to wrap their wings around you". As per teachings by George Bennett, I remembered that I have to keep the speech on our ancestors, as I am only a conduit to the story of our past. As per George Bennett, to say thank you for this tremendous honor, I was to forget about the ancestors that I called forward by bearing our clan emblems (hats). "In this case the clan emblem that I call forward is in spirit only, but it is just as strong as if it were here in this room, as this is the power of intangible objects in our culture."

In Teslin, where I come from, we do not have clan houses or clan hats and blankets on display at our memorial parties. Due to government policies Tlingit culture went underground and our First Nation culture was impacted by highways, mission schools, and government policies. Teslin Tlingit people were impacted by traders and explorers. The inland Tlingit did not stay in one region all of the time, we moved around in our seasonal and well developed camps in order to obtain furs for trade, foods and occupy our traditional and clan territories.

What we do hold fiercely, and guard with our lives is our clan emblems (Pearl Keenan, personal communication, 2009); these are displayed on our blankets, vests, and other ceremonial objects like dance wands, drums, smoking pipes, and on. As a result of Tlingit affirmation Teslin does have five totems at the Teslin Tlingit Heritage Centre and the presence of these totems

acknowledge and claim Teslin Tlingit clan jurisdiction over Teslin Tlingit language, justice, education, history, lands, and governance.

Teslin Tlingit people have stories of being in the Yukon since a long time ago when there was a very large man-eating carnivore (Kaada Googi<sup>23</sup>) living off and among us. This creature was so large that when he fell he changed the channel of Ross River.

“More than ever I am realizing that there is no border between the Tlingit (Harold Jacobs, personal communication, 11 November 2013); we are connected by our ancestors and our Tlingit names affirm this<sup>24</sup> and this is why I am here among you all to find out more about who we are by investigating my mother’s clan stories...” (from the notes of Norma Shorty November 16, 2013 after speaking at the ku.éex' of Matilda Gamble in Sitka Alaska).

As I reflect upon this speech making time in Sitka I realize that this move by the Raven clan leaders positioned the inland Tlingit people from Teslin, Yukon and this position was responded to by the Kaagwaantaan people and Wolf moieties present at the ku.éex'.

### *3.14 Field Work in Angoon*

From Sitka I took the catamaran to Angoon. While I was in Angoon I met with Alan Zuboff, the clan leader of the Deisheetaan, and his wife, Marlene, who is Kaagwaantaan from Klukwan.

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<sup>23</sup> In Angoon Kaada Googi is sasquatch.

<sup>24</sup> The names that Mary Blahitka shared with me in August 2012 are also found in coastal Tlingit communities (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 16, 2013) The nephew of John Sidney is Yanashtúkh; I did not know this when I was in Sitka and Angoon, Alaska.



While I was at home I also contacted Maxine Thompson in order to make connections into Angoon as well as secure housing. Maxine Thompson is Marlene Zuboff's sister and a personal friend of Dr. Alice Taff.

One of the first things said to me was “the Deisheetaan own Angoon” (Maxine Thompson, personal communication, November 16, 2013).

I also read a de Laguna book entitled *A Story of a Tlingit Community*; It is in this book that I found my clan house (1960, p. 171). Here, de Laguna makes reference to a cache pit house and this house is now where the Bear House is in Angoon. Alan asked me not to take any photos of this house because where this house is located is where the Kookhit used to be (de Laguna, 1960, p. 179). What is interesting about my read of the de Laguna text is that the pages fell open to where they were supposed to. Where the text fell open, too, helped me to piece together Angoon history with respect to finding what is published and/or oral history regarding my mother's clan origin stories.

It is very important to piece the story about my mother's clan together as it occurred in geological time as our stories follow a geological timeframe sequence (Harold Jacobs, personal communications, November 2013):

- The flood (de Laguna, 1960, pp. 130 – 131; McClellan, 2010, pp. 482 – 483)
- The little ice age (Cyril George, personal communication, 2013) ;
- Recent history:
  - Deisheetaan –Gaanaxádi split (Sitkoh Bay) – clan split over two brothers love for same woman (de Laguna, 1960, p. 133)

- When the Gaanax̓.ádi left Sitkoh Bay they left a symbol of the copper in the rocks to symbolize the wealth that they were giving away (de Laguna, 1960, p. 134). In Angoon Kookhit lost control of their house. According to de Laguna (1960, p. 179) the Kookhit house was once where the Bear house now is (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 18, 2012).
- Gaanax̓.ádi wind up at Taku (de Laguna, 1960, p. 134).
- Gaanax̓.ádi/ Kookhittaaan migration to the Inland via Taku River route (McClellan, 1951; 1975, pp. 474 – 475 and Gladys Johnston statement in Jack, et. al, 1985)
- Then came another clan split within Gaanax̓.ádi
- Two-headed Raven (McClellan, 1975; A. Zuboff, personal communication, November 18, 2013).

Of special note: de Laguna reports that one of three Daḡl'aweidí houses in Angoon used to have a painting of two killer whales facing away from each other. De Laguna writes that it was first painted by a former Chief of Raven House (1960, p. 189). This image was obliterated in 1928 (de Laguna, 1960, p. 189).

### *3.15 Major Findings Literature and Tlingit Historians*

During the little ice age the Deisheetaan who went under the ice came out in Angoon and those that went over the ice came out in Klukwan and some stayed behind (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 18, 2013).

When the Gaanax̓.ádi left the area of Angoon they surrendered their rights to the Deisheetaan. The Deisheetaan gave a big potlatch to raise their status, turning the insults hurled by the Gaanax̓.ádi into honorable names (de Laguna, 1960, p.134; Harold Jacobs, personal communication, 2013; Nora Marks Dauenhauer Tape Collection - Robert Zuboff).

The Gaanax̓.ádi ceded lands to the Deisheetaan (de Laguna, 1960, p. 133) and left the imprint of a copper shield in the rocks at Sitkoh Bay (de Laguna, p. 134) as evidence of the wealth they were leaving behind.

Maxine Thompson from Angoon indicated that her father told her that the Deisheetaan threw three copper shields in the waters to further insult the Gaanax̓.ádi (personal communication, November 19, 2013).

Another version states that Angoon was won in a hockey or shimmy match between the Gaanax̓ and Deisheetaan women (de Laguna, 1960, p.134).

The Gaanax̓.ádi and Kookhittaana are found at Taku and Angoon, Alaska (Swanton, n.d., p. 399). Based on the story told on a Kookhittaana clan shirt, some Gaanax̓.ádi, Kookhittaana, and Deisheetaan traveled inland (McClellan, 1951).

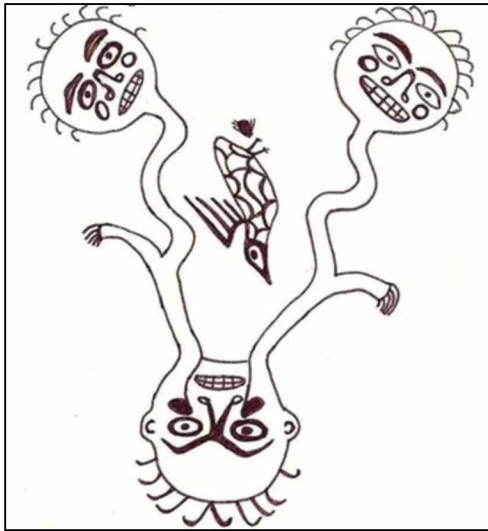
In Teslin it is said that the Gaanax̓.ádi were too few in number so they were absorbed into the Kookhittaana clan, circa 1950s (Yanyeidí woman, personal communication, 2008).

### *3.16 Major Findings on Inland Tlingit*

The first big breakthrough in my journey to finding Mother's clan stories was Jimmy Johnston's Kookhitta<sup>u</sup>an clan origin story and a "published" photograph (McClellan, 1975, plate X, lower right) of Mother's maternal grandmother, Annie Fox (nee Johnston). As well, I am now seeking published materials regarding Mother's clan connections rather than her genealogical connections. What is involved in seeking, owning, researching, and consolidating what are already published or are in private holdings on the clan and genealogical origin stories of my mother? I have heard a clan origin story of the Kookhitta<sup>u</sup>an from the Teslin area. This version is not found in McClellan and more searching is required to see if this particular version is found anywhere. The Kookhitta<sup>u</sup>an clan origin story is told by Jimmy Johnston, the clan leader of the Kookhitta<sup>u</sup>an clan, from the Teslin area.

### *3.17 New Found Understanding of Clan Drawing on Kookhitta<sup>u</sup>an Clan Shirt in McClellan as a Result of Dialogue with Alan Zuboff (November 2013)*

According to McClellan (1975) this clan shirt is three spirits and crow (p. 341). Now that I have the story in place and I have attached the story to a Tlingit timeline I now see the three heads and raven and the mosquito in a new way. Figure 3.3 is by Ukjese van Kampen; I commissioned this drawing in 2013 and he copied this image from a Museum of Civilization Photograph which was taken by Catherine McClellan in 1951.

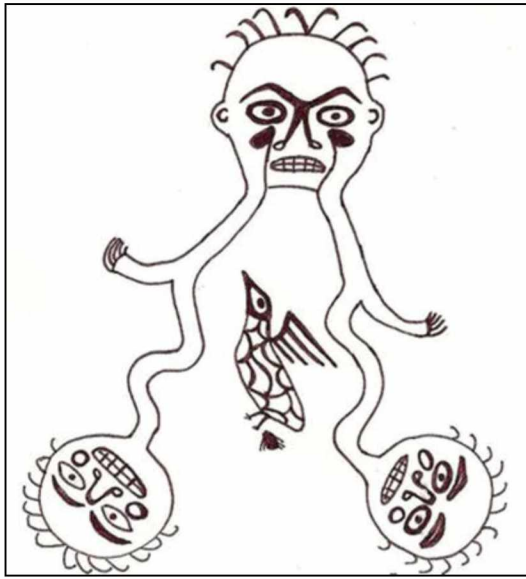


**Figure 3.3: The Story is Revealed.**

The two heads on one end indicate the Gaanax.ádi and Gaanaxteidí clan split (Alan Zuboff, personal communication, November 18, 2013).

The mosquito marks glacial times and because it is painted on the clan shirt this image may claim that this story takes place in the time of the ice age (glaciers).

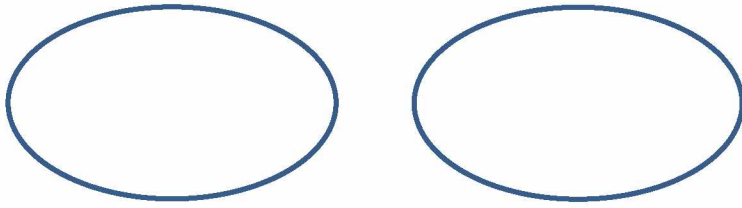
The Kookhittaaan clan dance shirt appears to record the Gaanax.ádi and Deisheetaan split at Angoon, Alaska because of the presence of the raven and the split-tailed-beaver. The raven must symbolize Gaanax.ádi. Emmons writes that the Kookhittaaan are an offshoot of the Deisheetaan (2002, p. 438) and de Laguna (1960) adds that the Deisheetaan formed a subdivision of the Gaanax.ádi (p. 133).



**Figure 3.4: Flipped Figure Tells More.**

When you flip this image around I can see the split-tailed beaver (Deisheetaan). An upside down clan crest is a clan in distress (Alan Zuboff, November 16, 2013). Note that in McClellan's 1951 photograph this image is painted upside down and as best as I can determine the split-tailed beaver upside down documents the hardships endured while migrating back to Angoon.

Note the ovals on the cheeks of the two heads. According to Swanton these unfilled ovals mean holes in Gaanaxáa, an island owned by T'akdeintaan, (Swanton, n.d. plate LIC). Accordingly, the filled-in circles on the one head indicate the spirits of the glaciers. Swanton, (n.d.), in one instance, states that this oval shape means spirit of glacier and in other instances associates the use of these ovals with clan owned places.



**Figure 3.5: Swanton Records Tlingit Meaning of Ovals.**

Gaanaxáa is now Port Stewart (Harold Jacobs, personal communication, May 5, 2014) and is situated near Prince of Wales Island and Ketchikan, Alaska. Note that this oval shape is carved in stone at Sitkoh Bay (de Laguna, 1960, figure 6, p.76) as well.

Mother does not know who painted the shirt but she thinks it may have been Edgar Sidney, a Gaanax.ádi from Áak'w Kwáan, Alaska. Edgar is John Sidney's stepfather (Mother's dad) and was known for his good artwork (Emma Shorty, personal communication, December, 2013).

### *3.18 Story of Gaanax.ádi Absorption into Kookhittaaan, Teslin*

There were too few Gaanax.ádi and to balance it out some clan elders and people said to make them Gaanax.ádi all Kookhittaaan (Children of the Raven) – Yanyeidí woman, personal communication at Uncle Pete's house, 2008.

### *3.19 Stories of Seenáa*

McClellan brings forward testimonies about Seenáa from a Kookhittaaan man born in Atlin, British Columbia. "Sometime after they had arrived at S'ina, the Kookhittaaan were fishing for herring at the mouth of the river...Herring rakes are supposed to be swung

sideways... On one occasion a Kookhittaán man lifted the rake too high and started a fight...some Kookhittaán went to Taku Harbor and then up the Taku River to Nakina, where they settled and made a totem pole for the ashes of their dead. On the totem pole, the Kookhittaán carved a Crow with two heads hanging from its mouth.” McClellan further adds that “later some members of the coastal branch came up river and stole the post away”<sup>25</sup> (1974, p. 474).

Seenáa is talked about by the coastal Yanyeidí and what is of special interest here is that there is a story of a giant sea monster that is fought at Seenáa among the coastal Yanyeidí<sup>26</sup> and there is a story of a giant sea monster being conquered among the inland Kookhittaán from Teslin, Yukon. McClellan (1975, pp. 474 - 475) states that her story informant is Gaanax.ádi and is married into Teslin and is originally from Auke Bay. Edgar Sidney of the Gaanax.ádi clan was married into Teslin was from Juneau and was of the Gaanax.ádi clan. This story of a sea monster at Seenáa (inland) seems to correlate with a sea monster story at S’een aa (coastal). As a result of the sea monster battle, there is a saying when the Kookhittaán are in danger “just row the boat into his throat” (1975, p. 475).

Mother says Seenáa is a rock in the middle of the Taku River (Emma Shorty, personal communication, November 26, 2012).

One story includes the purchase of Seenáa from Juneau, and it was packed by train to Whitehorse and floated back to Teslin circa 1850’s. The boat was named Seenáa.

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<sup>25</sup> Alan Zuboff indicated that it was the Deisheetaan who stole the post away (personal communication, November 17, 2013)

<sup>26</sup> Story by George Stevens and the story George Stevens tells is a Yanyeidí story.



“Billy Fox had a boat called Seenáa; it was a big houseboat, and it used to go to the trapline. Pete Fox (Mother’s mother’s brother) bought this boat” Mother (Emma Shorty, personal communication, November 26, 2012):

Seenáa is mentioned in Bausler and Twitchell (2012) and is based on early inland clan research by Jeff Leer, 1985. Jeff Leer’s clan work is based on early clan research conducted by de Laguna (1990).

As reported by Bausler and Twitchell (2012) and Thornton (2012, p. 70), Seenáa is a tribe at Snettisham, the birthplace of the Kookhittaán clan.

Jimmy Johnston, the current Kookhittaán clan leader, indicates that the Kookhittaán come from Seenáa as well (personal communication, September 2012).

### *3.20 Why Does Sam Johnston (Ishkahittaán Clan Leader) Say our Common Ancestor is Yesketch?*

McClellan talks briefly about the Ishkahittaán clan house branching off G̃aanax̃.ádi (1975, p.477). Swanton listed Ishkahittaán (Salmon Hole House) as a lineage house of the Taku Tribe (n.d., p. 403). McClellan (1953) reports that the Crow moiety in Teslin hosts the “Decitan, Kuqhitan and Ickitan; the first clan is especially strong today at Angoon on Admiralty Island in Alaska; the latter two are branches off the widespread Ganaxadi of the coast” (p. 47). McClellan (1975) says the Kookhittaán are the important clan in Teslin and she reports that the G̃aanax̃.ádi and the Ishkahittaán do not own any land in the Teslin area (p. 55).

*3.21 “Our Stories Are Real – They Go Beyond Myth, Distant and no Longer Relevant” (Alan Zuboff, Personal Communication, November 18, 2013)*

There is an awakening amongst Tlingit people as we begin to realize that our stories are real and are based on actual historical events.

Our stories affirm land tenure, knowledge, and history. Prior to 1920, my mother’s people maintained their identities, land and trail stewardship, Tlingit language and culture by living and practicing intergenerational methodologies for transmitting and preserving indigenous knowledges on land tenure, ancestral history, place names and more (Pearl Keenan, Jimmy Johnston, and Emma Shorty, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

*3.22 Tlingit Literacy Revealed*

Petroglyphs and face paints and clan shirts records forever the clan origin stories of the Kookhitta<sup>n</sup> and Gaanax̓.ádi connection. Just like the written word, images bring forward thoughts and ideas and stories.

Who are the Gaanax̓.ádi and what is Teslin’s connection to Angoon? While I was in Angoon I met with Alan Zuboff, the clan leader of the Deisheetaan, and his wife Marlene, who is Kaagwaantaan from Klukwan. The Deisheetaan own Angoon (Maxine Thompson, personal communication, November 16, 2013).

The location of the Kookhit in Angoon is furthest from the central door #17 on de Laguna’s map (1960, p. 179). In Angoon, Kookhit is no longer discussed because it is no longer clan property. Alan Zuboff states that these outlying houses were cache houses, which held regalia and other items, and someone was always left behind to watch over these things.

### *3.23 Discussion of Research Results*

Due to processes of contact and colonization (King, 1967; Smith, G. 2000; Smith, L., 1999) of indigenous peoples overall access to inland and clan specific histories is very limited (Thornton, 2012, p. 68). An environmental scan on current resources about the Teslin Tlingit clan system reveals few recently written resources on the inland Tlingit of Teslin, Yukon. Documentation (print, audio, and visual materials currently available) most often portrays Yukon history as beginning at the time of the Klondike Gold Rush (Thornton, 2004, p.1). Indigenous oratory (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987), trails (Harris, 1996), artifacts (Greer, 2004; Richards et al., 2007) marks on trees (how trails were marked) and mountain features (Tim Ackerman, personal communication, May, 2012) including Tlingit maps (Davidson, 1901; Yukon Historical and Museums Association, 1995) and petroglyphs (de Laguna, 1960), clan shirts (McClellan, 1975) and face paints (Swanton, n.d.) tell otherwise.

Available literature about the inland Tlingit from Teslin included the published works of Catherine McClellan (1951; 1953; 1954; 1961; 1975; 2010), Jack et al., (1985), Crippen, (2014) and genealogy charts<sup>27</sup>. Additional research leads and notes included the works of George Emmons (2002), John Swanton (n.d.), Viola Garfield (1947), Frederica de Laguna (1960), the University of Alaska Southeast (Taff et al., 2009), Sealaska, and other Alaska Native Corporations including the works of culture researchers Nora and the recently departed Richard Dauenhauer (1987; 1990; 1994) and Dauenhauer, N., Dauenhauer, R., and Black (2008). Knowledge bearers such as the late Cyril George, the late Walter Soboleff from the coast of Alaska, Jimmy Johnston and Sam Johnston from Teslin contributed significant guidance through

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<sup>27</sup> There is an extensive genealogy chart developed by Bonner and Bessie Cooley (n.d.) for the community of Teslin.

their stories. Harold Jacobs including Alan Zuboff were instrumental and key towards helping me understand what I was reading and what I was hearing; it is through their stories and testimonies and guidance that many of the story pieces fell into place for me.

As Teslin Tlingit peoples implement ideas about self-determination it is increasingly important to preserve and perpetuate works and stories as presented by inland Tlingit people by and about themselves. Issues surrounding contact and colonization have greatly impacted indigenous methodologies towards the preservation and perpetuation of indigenous knowledge.

This research relates to Mother's clan identity and the history of how the Kookhittaani were once Gaanax̓.ádi. My literature review records and perpetuates inland Teslin Tlingit clan history by preserving stories about my mother's clan, the Kookhittaani of Teslin, Yukon. One of the main objectives of my literature review was to expand and inform a published statement made by mother's blood sister, Mrs. Gladys Johnston. She said she is from the Gaanax̓.ádi clan.

Previous to reading this statement in Jack, et al., *tingit literacy workshop, may 6-8, 1985 yukon native language centre* (sic) there was no previous reference by Mother or others made to the Gaanax̓.ádi clan existing in Teslin except for this statement. In some uncanny way and a few days after reading this statement in 2010 there was a visit paid to me by someone from an opposite clan in Teslin. This person validated Gladys Johnston's information by retelling (unsolicited<sup>28</sup>) how the Gaanax̓.ádi was absorbed into the Kookhittaani clan of Teslin, Yukon. This individual said that "there were too few Gaanax̓.ádi and to balance it out some clan elders and people said to make them Gaanax̓.ádi all Kookhittaani (Children of the Raven)". Since reading Gladys Johnston's statement I have enquired about the validity of her statement and have

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<sup>28</sup> This kind of opposite clan and unsolicited information is sometimes called validation.

found that some of the story details and images were misunderstood by the ethnographers who had previously recorded it.

### *3.24 Research Results Questions*

What is the relationship between the knowledge bearers understanding of Tlingit history and what is written in texts, journals, books, and curriculums? The answer to this question was explored through literature and by previously collected stories, songs, and history, and clan knowledges. Recent preservation work by Dr. A. Taff and the recently departed Dr. R. Dauenhauer, 2011, includes an excel worksheet of Tlingit stories which were recorded by Nora Dauenhauer. Included in this valuable metaseries are stories about the great flood and glacial migrations between Teslin and Angoon. This excels worksheet yields cassette tape numbers and Tlingit tellers, including their Tlingit name(s), clans and villages. These stories were gathered by Nora Marks Dauenhauer in the 1970s. Included in this data series are cassette stories by Teslin storyteller and historian Tom Peters (see also Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1994, pp. 545 - 547). As well Robert Zuboff talks about Teslin, Yukon and Angoon, Alaska including Deisheetaan and Dakl'aweidi migration stories.

People who employ indigenous research methodologies soon realize that many published indigenous experiences and ideas are based upon work conducted by outside researchers (Richard Dauenhauer, Marie Olson, & Alice Taff, personal communication, November 25, 2011) and Battiste (2008); Kawagley (1995); Smith (1999); and Wilson (2009).

It appears that as a culture loses sight of its own language, stories, and ancestral connections to the land this same culture loses its place of power in the reinterpretation of

itself<sup>29</sup>. In reviewing de Laguna (1960) and McClellan's (1975) works – these ethnographers emphasize and acknowledge the importance of their work as they realize that the results of their work may be used to perpetuate and localize research by and among indigenous populations.

In thinking about the issue of validation of past work by outside researchers the late and respected Yupiaq researcher and scholar, Oscar Kawagley (1995) tells us that indigenous worldview matters: how we view the world is based on our survival in our habitats and socio-cultural environments (pp. 146 – 153). Maori researcher and scholar Linda Smith (1999) talks about colonization and she warns indigenous scholars to be cognizant about how we define and validate our indigenous knowledges and methodologies. Similarly, indigenous elders (Pearl Keenan, Marie Olson, to name a few) and knowledge bearers are now saying that the English language does not do an adequate job of translating indigenous knowledge, thought, and concepts (Johnson, 2011, Leonard, 2007).

As an indigenous scholar and researcher I am hyperaware of concepts around “othering”. My Master's thesis examined the impacts of requesting an immersion school at a local and policy level here in the Yukon. I examined areas such as native language and orthography; many fluent indigenous peoples were key to defining what language was and in some cases remained on the outside of the deciding circle when it came to deciding upon how the language would look when it was written out. Many indigenous languages are oral and the rules for written language have not been part of our indigenous discourse and dialogue. Since my Master's thesis I have grown professionally and have engaged in formal learning of Tlingit language and culture with

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<sup>29</sup> Researchers Linda Smith and Shawn Wilson call this *othering*.

my mother. In order for our language and culture to survive we are going to have to write our language and culture down.

Indigenous peoples are exercising principles of self-determination by commissioning dialogue and discourse on several subjects, such as education, justice, child welfare, curriculum, orthography.... Shawn Wilson (2009), Oscar Kawagley (1995), Ray Barnhardt and Oscar Kawagley (2005) et al., remind us that indigenous peoples must remain at the center of any work that affects us as a body and/or group of one or more people. An indigenous methodology must support the perpetuation of ancient and modern, local and personal indigenous knowledge's – if these knowledges are to survive into the future.

## Chapter 4 Lessons Through an Indigenous Research Lens

As an indigenous researcher from the Marsh Lake<sup>30</sup>, Yukon area I intended to work with elders and knowledge bearers who could contribute to the story pools about my mother's clan. The Klondike Gold Rush, the building of the Alaska Highway, the influx of outsiders, the federal and territorial government policies, the mission schools, the diseases, and other events overwhelmed and displaced indigenous people's stories on and about themselves (Coates, 1984, p. 126, Thornton, 2004, p. 7). At first, my research was going to discuss the inland Tlingit trade trails and then my research evolved to researching Mother's clan history and stories by interviewing Teslin peoples. However, the Teslin Elders Council did not want me to interview nor do genealogies work. Teslin Tlingit Council and Teslin Tlingit clans are video recording clan histories and are conducting genealogical research and documentation at the Teslin Tlingit government level. Following indigenous research methods this time for dialogue and discourse at the elders and clan knowledge bearers' tables must occur first. This research then, addresses why Gladys Johnston said we are *Gaanax̱.ádi*, and utilizes both published and public domain stories and sources. There are a few instances where new information is brought forward from previously published photos, written works, and ideas, and the discussion of those previously found items is based on a Tlingit research lens, history and experts. How we thought as Tlingit people and how we ensured our stories lived on are evidenced at Sitkoh Bay. The petroglyphs, like the printed word, bring forward Tlingit images, thoughts, ownership, and histories.

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<sup>30</sup> I am Tlingit by birthright.



As legislated in 1920 by Canada's Department of Indian Affairs, the assimilation of Canada's Indians was to occur through the children (Coates, 1984, abstract). The vehicle for assimilation was the mission schools. In 1920, Canada wanted to do away with the Indian problem. Doing away with the Indian problem included enfranchisement, assimilation schemes, reservations, and government-enforced policies on the removal of children for the purposes of attending residential schools (Frideres & Gadacz, 2012). So this story, about my mother's clan, cannot be told without alluding to the impacts of residential school upon my mother and others from her era. To ignore the residential school years would be to perpetuate the story of Canada's lost aboriginal children. Today, Mother is talking of writing her autobiography. This work of my mother's will reflect on her life as well as her residential school experiences. Rather than focusing on Mother's residential school stories my research has focused on Tlingit understandings about my mother's clan. This clan history work ensures intergenerational perpetuation of our inland Tlingit story and ancestral connections to place, land, and knowledge.

My research builds upon ideas of Tlingit oration, Tlingit laws and protocol, history and knowledge, ideas, and stories about Mother's clan. As determined by researchers of Tlingit oratory, one form of Tlingit speech occurs within formal Tlingit settings and focuses on the teller's ancestral clan history, clan lands, and clan stories (Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R., 1987). When we are speaking at a ku.éex' or at a formally convened Tlingit gathering there are strict Tlingit laws on clan crests, stories, sacred objects, lands, including all things Tlingit (George Bennett, personal communication, November 16, 2013). By Tlingit constructs it is considered rude to discuss yourself (Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R., 1990, pp. 13 -14), so to focus on Mother's ancestral and clan history has proved to be a wise and quite "accidental" path.

#### *4.1 Outsiders and Insiders Perspectives*

How does the circumpolar research region engage with the human dimension in the Arctic? What will our inland Tlingit research instruments and research analysis look like at a high policy and intergovernmental level? Will there be shared dialogue times and what will shared discourse times bring (Appendix Q)? How Tlingit is defined impacts public policy as per the implementation of the Yukon Self-Government and Land Claim Agreements (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1993). As demonstrated in the area of education, the Yukon land claim agreement leaves room for precedence setting policies (Government of Yukon, 1990, p. 19). One of the local discussions we are having in the Yukon is on alternative energy sources towards reducing our human footprint on our long term and sustainable environment for the purpose of doing no harm. At a meeting discussing this initiative only one of the two affected nations influenced the meeting. At the time of my attendance, other than my mother and me, there were no other first nation people in the room. There had been significant and important research on Carcross Tagish First Nation beliefs about water shared with the alternative energy source group. The Carcross Tagish First Nation values expressed through Mark Wedge appeared to be a key factor to any decisions that were made and what Mark Wedge said on behalf of Carcross Tagish First Nation was interwoven into participant discussions with respect to moving the alternative energy source agenda forward. In this instance, what processes do we need to put in place to reduce the potential for a misunderstanding with respect to the non-traditional use of traditional knowledge? As expressed throughout this dissertation there are worldview differences between non indigenous and indigenous peoples and these are based on our growing-up environments and what we are exposed to (Kawagley, 1995). In the not so distant past there was little written from indigenous perspectives and today, indigenous

knowledges continue to be revealed through intergenerational understandings of published oratory, pictographs, stories and more. As already illustrated by Alaskan peoples, a Venn diagram juxtaposes indigenous knowledge and non-traditional knowledge and the middle circle seeks common ground principles (Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005).

Using traditional indigenous knowledge, it is easy to see that climate is ever shifting, changing, and evolving. Climate change is a topic that many scientists are grappling with today. In science conferences such as Arctic Change 2014, which was hosted in Ottawa Canada in December, it was easy to pick out indigenous learners of indigenous constructs. Common issue themes among indigenous learners of indigenous constructs included loss of culture due to mission schools, broken knowledge circles, declining use of indigenous languages and decolonization at the intersection of science and indigenous culture. Due to decolonization efforts indigenous peoples need time to deliberate amongst themselves in order to discuss history and indigenous constructs with respect to science and public policy development (Arctic Change Secretariat, 2014, Indigenous Student Presenters at Arctic Change, December 8- 9, 2014). In light of where many indigenous peoples find themselves, how is our research ethic of “do no harm” connected to concepts like traditional knowledge? Traditional knowledge is an oral construct and is exact. “You don’t add anything in and don’t take anything away” (Pearl Keenan, personal communication, lifelong learning). This exactness is based on what you hear, who is doing the telling and what is the teller’s clan. Oral history is non-tangible and has tremendous power in Tlingit constructs, especially when opposite and same clan historians, leaders, and elders agree that, “this is the way I heard it too” (Dan Marino<sup>31</sup>, personal communication, March

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<sup>31</sup> May the memory of him be eternal.

2008). Oral tellings' balance the other out, Raven moiety "tellings" are balanced by Wolf moiety "tellings", and the story versions balance each other out. It does not mean that the information or story is the same yet there usually are remarkable similarities (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, pp. 13 – 14). Using indigenous constructs, traditional knowledges are based on oral history and there are rules and laws for using traditional knowledges. Within indigenous knowledges there are concepts of ownership, jurisdiction, and processes for working among the people.

These are important discussions – especially for the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation (Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, 2009) – near the Ruby Mountain Range. Kwaday Dan Sinchi, or "Long Ago Person Found" is a Tlingit man who has DNA connections to the maternal family of Jim Fox, Daḵl'aweidí, from the Teslin area. Jim Fox is Mother's grandfather. Kwaday Dan Sinchi was found in Champagne and Aishihik territory. Champagne and Aishihik are now in negotiations with the government of Yukon to ensure that all finds are considered ethnographic, especially those that occur on Champagne Aishihik traditional territory. Keeping in mind the precedence setting nature of the Yukon land claim agreements (Government of Yukon, 1990, p. 19); what tools do we have at the research points of entry to ensure indigenous validation of indigenous constructs especially in the area of sustaining indigenous peoples and culture (Tlingit Clan Conference, 2013)?

In undefined policy areas, definitions and discourse over the cultural and intellectual property rights of Yukon indigenous peoples will prove to be very helpful. The Yukon First Nation Land Claims Agreements have chapters on heritage and culture, these chapters bring Yukon Government and Champagne Aishihik officials to a policy making table. International conventions, past research and literature that the parties have taken the time to deliberate on will

give policy direction to the heritage and culture negotiators. Also at these tables are elders and knowledge bearers. Many of the elders at these sessions were here at the time the highway came through and have a living understanding of the time before contact based on their own upbringing and their own community of teachers. At the centre of these discussions is Kwaday Dan Sinchi. The policy process regarding the story of Kwaday Dan Sinchi's journey is being determined by Champagne and Aishihik First Nation and Government of Yukon. Although the find was made in British Columbia, Kwaday Dan Sinchi was found in the traditional territory of Champagne/Aishihik First Nation. Kwaday Dan Sinchi's cremated body was put to rest in an undisclosed mountain area in July of 2001. There was a second party held for Kwaday Dan Sinchi in Klukwan September 2001 (Champagne/Aishihik First Nation, 2009, see Chronology of Events).

Most northern people are greatly impacted by research done to us or about us instead of with us. As a Social, Economic and Culture Expert<sup>32</sup> for the Sustainable Working Group at Arctic Council I look forward to focusing, articulating and advancing social, economic, and cultural research for the purpose of developing sustainable and integrated approaches to research at the circumpolar level.

I am an insider and an outsider to the Tlingit culture. Am I moving from an outsider to inside position? Yes, I am becoming an insider to the elders' circle not only by age but by knowledge. Am I both or one or the other? I am both an insider and an outsider because we are told to be both (Alice Taff, personal communication, November 24, 2011). I am Tlingit

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<sup>32</sup> This group has met only once in 2012 in Whitehorse, Yukon and at this meeting we passed our Terms of Reference.

relearning our history, our language, and our place names. I am both a teacher and a learner (Appendix O).

#### *4.2 Community-Driven Process*

A Yukon wide elders' or knowledge bearers' table must be developed (Pearl Keenan, personal communication, 2008). This Yukon wide elders table could work toward addressing cultural ownership, jurisdiction, and respect including questions about the preservation of our public and confidential knowledges. For the purposes of this research I am utilizing the Teslin Tlingit Elder's Council as formed for governance and other matters in relation to Teslin Tlingit Council. The inland and coastal Tlingit peoples collectively enjoy intellectual and cultural property rights over stories, songs, dances, knowledge, medicines, technology, clan clothing, clan blankets, and masks (Dauenhauer, N. & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, 1990, 1994; Davidson, 1901; de Laguna, 1960; Emmons, 2002; Garfield, 1947; Goldschmidt and Haas, 2000; McClellan, 1951, 1953, 1954, 1975, 2010; Nyman & Leer, 1993; Thornton, 2004, 2012; Yukon Historical & Museum Association, 1995). As determined by Teslin Tlingit Council, Traditional Knowledge Policy, Draft 8, research conventions at the government level affirms Teslin Tlingit clan and citizen jurisdiction over Teslin Tlingit clan and citizen knowledge (Teslin Tlingit Council, 2012). The research conventions serve as a guideline for the cultural holdings that are in the possession of Teslin Tlingit Council.

Today, there is Teslin Tlingit sovereignty over traditional lands, and this is constitutionally protected by the federal government of Canada; yet, self-government is not constitutionally protected.

Section 13.1.1.5 of the Yukon First Nation Umbrella Final Agreement (UFA) makes provisions for the management of culture and history in a manner consistent with the values of Yukon Indian People and to adopt the standards of international, national, and territorial heritage resource collections and programs<sup>33</sup>. The UFA served as a template within which the Federal Government, Government of Yukon and First Nations settled prospective First Nation Final Agreements. Another important provision in the UFA includes ownership and management of ethnographic and moveable resources that are not public record, and are not private property, and are found in First Nations' traditional territory, and are directly related to the culture and heritage of Yukon Indian People. Anything not owned by the First Nations are owned by the government.

#### *4.3 Tlingit Law and Power*

Originally, I attended a regularly convened meeting of Teslin Tlingit elders to inform them of my project. I told them my research title and explained why my project was about mother. I will carry our clan history and stories of origin into the future by learning the stories though many may not be included in my research because I may be so advised by Teslin Tlingit elders. The elders are not saying do not write it down – some things are just for Tlingit people because of strict Tlingit laws on things no longer talked about in a public way (Elders Meeting Teslin Tlingit Council, personal communication, September 25, 2013). As a Tlingit woman, I

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<sup>33</sup> 13.1.1.5 to manage Heritage Resources owned by, or in the custody of, Yukon First Nations and related to the culture and history of Yukon Indian People in a manner consistent with the values of Yukon Indian People, and, where appropriate, to adopt the standards of international, national and territorial Heritage Resources collections and programs (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1993).

understand that I may or may not be able to publish what I learn about the Kookhitta and Gaanaxádi clans of Teslin. As a researcher I am ethically bound to do no harm.

#### *4.4 Heritage Site Status T'aakú River Route Inland*

On March 9, 2011, I heard on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) that the Canadian Rangers have slashed and cleared the old Tlingit trade trail from Surprise Lake (near Atlin, British Columbia) into Teslin, Yukon. The Tlingit trade trail spans Alaska, British Columbia and the Yukon. When I called the CBC for more information I was told to get in touch with Carolyn Moore; she produces a small web paper DiscoverAtlin.Com. Ms. Moore reported that the trail looks more like a four-lane highway. What concerns me is that there is no legislation to govern four wheel and skidoo use in the Yukon. In 2011 I was not aware of the application of any state or Teslin Tlingit heritage laws on the obscure Taku River trail inland. I am concerned because this trail has many stories to reveal (ancient campsites, ancient burial sites, and artifact finds). Today, the Teslin Tlingit Council is self-governing and is recognized by federal law as a third order of government since 1993. Teslin Tlingit Council has jurisdiction over its own lands, economics, politics, justice, heritage, and more. In order to explore the complexity of local laws over cultural and intellectual property rights one only needs to examine our Yukon land claim agreements as per the protection of our indigenous heritage sites.

The original trail from Atlin to Gladys Lake, which is in Taku River Tlingit Traditional Territory, is part of the Atlin mining access roads system, and is a well-used road. From the Teslin side the TTC Heritage Department for three winters has been using TTC citizens to help reestablish the route. The width of our trail is less than 4 feet wide, and is still a difficult trail because of tree blow



downs and hilly terrain. We have about 8 miles of trail from Teslin Lake (Tip Evans, personal communication, October 1, 2014).



**Figure 4.1: At the Trail Head Near Teslin, Yukon June 18, 2014.**

#### *4.5 Potential for Taku River Trail Research*

The potential for Taku River Trail research outputs are numerous. In 2002, I was asked to develop a research proposal by a Teslin Tlingit elder, who wanted to research our clan migration stories. In 2002, our proposal recognized that there is an urgent need to revitalize and reclaim local area history as this process of gathering information perpetuates culture, language, and tradition as well as provides some very important ethnographical information not formally written or recorded by former historians. This proposal recognized that there is an apparent lack

of written and oral material surrounding the history of the inland Tlingits and the elder and myself were at that time quite interested in tracing, facilitating, recording and documenting how, why and when the Tlingits came inland to the Teslin, Yukon area. In 2002, it was recognized that this important project shall have significant impact upon the written resources available on the topic of inland Tlingits as a preliminary internet/library search of the inland Tlingits has proved to be very scarce. The proposal wanted Teslin and Alaskan elders to reconstruct the time, place, persons, events, and interpretations of why the Alaskan Tlingits walked inland to the Yukon from areas such as Yakutat, Sitka, and Juneau, Alaska. We thought that the oral histories and written documents collected in Teslin, Yukon would provide some very important leads and testimony from the Alaska area. This proposal was withdrawn by the elder due to clan jurisdiction over Tlingit knowledges – this proposal focused on the migration stories of all Tlingit clans in the Teslin and Alaskan areas and it was felt that we should only focus on our own clan stories.

#### *4.6 Methods of Research*

As determined throughout this dissertation I am indigenous. I am enrolled in Indigenous Studies at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Indigenous Studies allows me to focus and interpret who I am as an indigenous person by indigenous standards and as a matter of study. In the 1970s it was common to report and study indigenous cultures through “outsider” lenses. Archeologists, ethno-historians, ethnologists, and folklorists interpreted who we are as indigenous peoples. The worldview of these professionals can be read when we look to early contributions on the Tlingit with respect to place-based history, petroglyphs, and oral histories. Science relies on its own tools as it views its subject matter. Today, as indigenous peoples are

healing from contact and colonization processes, policies on the incorporation of traditional knowledge are being discussed and defined at international and intergovernmental forums on the Arctic. Many of these international forums on the Arctic encourage indigenous participation by way of conference presentations on indigenous-led research (i.e. Arctic Change Secretariat, 2014). Who am I and how did I conduct my research is addressed throughout my dissertation. I am an insider. As Tlingit people our system is matrilineal. Mother is Tlingit and was born in Teslin, Yukon. I am, therefore, an inland Tlingit from Teslin, Yukon. Father was born at Big Salmon River and is Northern Tutchone. I am, therefore, child of the Tatchun Gei. I am not a fluent inland Tlingit speaker. I was born in Whitehorse, Yukon and lived most of my life near Whitehorse, Yukon. Because I do not speak the language and I do not live in Teslin, Yukon some would consider me an outsider to Tlingit culture, and since Tlingit is Tlingit no matter where you are, I am an insider to Tlingit culture. I have also asserted my clan rights to commission the redrawing of certain Kookhittaana clan images and stories. During my dissertation writing phase I discovered Tlingit clan stories in literature and Tlingit ways of understanding images, shapes, stories. I conducted a literature review, did field trips, and was responsive to what was happening in the communities I visited. For instance, I had booked to go to Angoon during the time of a very important ku.éex' in Sitka, Alaska; I went to Sitka, Alaska for the ku.éex', and then caught the chartered catamaran to Angoon, Alaska. When I was in Sitka, Alaska I volunteered to help out with the preparations for the Kaagwaantaana ku.éex' even though I am from the Raven moiety. At the time of the party, I sat as an inland Tlingit woman from the Raven clan with ancestral connections to Teslin, Yukon. I still did not know the full story yet. I was fortunate to have secured space at Karras Bed and Breakfast in Sitka, Alaska.

In the second year of my PhD program, my longtime friend, Jessica Simon and I took the ferry to Juneau, Alaska on November 24, 2011. I was to meet with Dr. Alice Taff (A.T.) and Dr. Richard Dauenhauer (R.D.). Below are some of the highlights of this conversation, which was foundational towards mapping out my overall research question. At this initial point in my research, I had thought I was going to do genealogies and collect oral history. Below, I was beginning my research enquiry and had not yet found my research question. I was going to collect and videotape oral history on Mother's clan origin stories.

R.D. [In your research you will be focusing on] ethno history? Are you getting oral things from the community?

Storytellers; [people have the] impression that they are a pipeline and the story just comes through. Look at Julie Cruikshank: stories can mean different things at different times – Pete's song (Carcross) Read this it gets into stuff you'll be using. What do things mean? How can you claim it?

Norma: Inland Tlingits are questioning what people know. Patsy Henderson, he was a renowned storyteller at the White Pass Railway Station. Could he have embellished the story and taken things away, because he's a storyteller and that's what storytellers do? [Note: it is said that Edgar Sidney was a storyteller too. Edgar Sidney is from Auke Bay and married an Inland woman from Teslin. Some of the stories in my own dissertation are based upon what Edgar Sidney said].

RD: Some [stories] you won't fix –it's a matter of how you deal with it.

Frustrating, exciting, and [see] how things change. Elders questioning legitimacy of each other [as the ethnographer you will have to] respect both sides.

In this early conversation, important research methods begin to emerge, such as how to look at story, and legitimacy of the tellers and literature content. Notions of balance, fairness, and respect come to the forefront. It is clear that all angles of the story need to be included during my research journey. I found bits and pieces of Mother's clan story here and there, and this story was not always coherent. As I conducted my literature review the question that I kept on addressing was what Gladys Johnston means by her statement; hence, the question of who are the Gaanax̣.ádi became my research focus.

In 2011, I was still a PhD student of Indigenous Studies, UAF. I am acutely aware of clan laws and ownership. I had also seen some Tlingit elders and had some research direction and support at this point. I was also just beginning my work on a thirteen-week curriculum with Tlingit elders for the School of Social Justice. My connection to Mother is growing stronger and Mother herself remembers and shares more and more Tlingit history and details as time goes on. Perhaps this remembering has to do with Mother sitting with knowledgeable elders from the Teslin area, listening to them tell old-time stories about Teslin Tlingit peoples. Mother's memory about her peoples stories are triggered by these times of elder collaborations. As the facilitator of the thirteen-week curriculum I am privileged to hear the discussion and dialogue amongst the Teslin elders. Mother begins to speak the Tlingit that she remembers and begins to be unapologetic for her "stumbles" when she is speaking.

Mother and I continue our travels together to Juneau, Sitka, Haines, and Skagway, Alaska including Teslin, Yukon. In our journeys together we are talking about her ancestors as we travel through the lands of her ancestors. The stories come forth, especially on our long ferry ride to Juneau, Alaska from Skagway and from Juneau to Sitka, Alaska. Mother and I find the time to talk because we usually do not rent a berth; we like to stay on deck and experience what is happening.

When Mother and I attended the University of Alaska Southeast (UAS) our teachers were Alice Taff, Richard and Nora Dauenhauer, and Florence Shakley. Much of our course work centered on the development of Tlingit language resources via audio and visual products. As Mother and I attended UAS we engaged in a culture activity every day. Mother and I rented a suite at the Driftwood for four months. When Mother and I returned home, Dr. Alice Taff and a team of language specialists from Alaska came inland and recorded inland Tlingit speakers from Atlin, British Columbia, Tagish, Yukon and Teslin, Yukon. Mother and I hosted the Alaskan delegation. These early on educational and cultural experiences shared by Emma and Norma Shorty were key towards defining what my research would cover.

My work with Teslin Tlingit elders was causing me to examine who said what. My examination on the place and context of what was said came much later. For instance, speeches given at ku.éex' or for an ethnographer are very formal while storytelling in public forums is usually informal. Throughout my dissertation writing process I am using my “insider” voice in an auto-ethnographic format. I am Tlingit, and I am practicing Tlingit ways by exercising my clan rights to stories, images, photographs, and ideas. I conducted a literature review on the Kookhitta clan from Teslin Yukon and completed field trips to: Juneau, Alaska, Sitka, Alaska,

Angoon, Alaska, and Teslin, Yukon. The peripheral question that I addressed throughout my research is, “how does my knowledge of Mother’s clan stories impact my responses to public and intergovernmental forums on indigenous peoples”? My primary question was, “what did Gladys Johnston mean by her clan statement and what are Mother’s clan origin stories”? To say the least, my primary question took precedence because “research would shake out of the question results later” (Richard Dauenhauer, Alice Taff, personal communication, November 25, 2011). It was very important to get the story down as there is “scant information on the T’aakú K’wáan” (Thornton, 2012, p. 68).

The T’aakú K’wáan is the group that the inland Tlingit from Teslin Yukon affiliate themselves with (Teslin Tlingit Council, 2015).

Today, October 22, 2014, Mother awoke and said that in the old days Tlingit people thought nothing of money. Money was nothing; it was what you had that showed your wealth, your name, and your possessions.

#### *4.7 Decolonized Eyes*

International conventions, such as the *Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education* (World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education, August 2013), state that I have the right to be educated as per my local indigenous constructs. Coolangatta lists culture, philosophy, principles, ideologies, and the right to be educated while utilizing culturally appropriate methodologies to being indigenous. This statement brings attention to methodologies that sustain indigenous knowledges and worldviews as we go forward into the future. Coolangatta draws on a number of human rights declarations and asserts to bring forward under one document, the rights of indigenous peoples to indigenous education. As stated by Jo-ann

Archibald (2008) our worldview is transmitted through our identity, our stories, our values, our aboriginal languages, our land, our family, and our ancestors. Jo-ann Archibald (2008) drew my attention to two eyes seeing, how do my mismatched or colonized and decolonized eyes focus? At the beginning of this research journey I was challenged by the late Dr. Oscar Kawagley to identify values that shed light on the transmission of worldview. At this early stage I located *The Southeast Traditional Tribal Values* (Soboleff, February 2013) which had been brought forward by Dr. Walter Soboleff. The values include discipline, obedience, respect, patience, pride in family, strength, humor, caring for one another, listening well to each other, taking care of the land, living in peace and harmony, and having courage (Soboleff, February 2013). When I showed this list to Mrs. Pearl Keenan, she said, “These values hit the culture; these values are right in the centre of it” (Pearl Keenan, personal communication, spring, 2009). First Nation-led identification of values based on who we are will help us formulate policy, learning outcomes, indigenous and political frameworks. For this reason, it is extremely important that indigenous scholars be afforded time to research who they are, and it is extremely important that emotional supports be on hand to assist learners who are deeply traumatized by discussing what happened to Canada’s indigenous peoples with respect to their identity. *Coolangatta* recognizes education as a medium towards the implementation of indigenous identity through education constructs (World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education, August 2013).

Indigenous people value education and lifelong learning. They value schooling and they value the development of indigenous constructs and indigenous learning schemes. As indigenous peoples in the Yukon we are at a place of implementing and evaluating concepts of self-determination as per our Yukon Land Claim Agreements. Many indigenous peoples are scrutinizing and evaluating ways towards defining and implementing concepts of indigenous



self-determination in areas such as justice, housing and infrastructure, lands and taxation, and education.

The elders are instrumental and key to this process. Because of concepts of self-determination Teslin Tlingit elders are very involved in policy and curriculum development. In November 2011, Pearl Keenan and Emma Shorty sat down with me to develop a work plan on the development of a culture camp curriculum for the School of Social Justice at Yukon College, Ayamdagut Campus. This idea quickly morphed into a full-fledged 13-week college course (Shorty, 2013). Kookhitta Clan Leader Jimmy Johnston joined our team and this curriculum took us just over two years to develop. During this curriculum development process many Tlingit stories, concepts, and history came out. In this closed circle Mother and I were privileged to hear Teslin Tlingit stories and history. It is here that Mother began to speak Tlingit – after stories of her mother and father are shared with her. These stories and mental images triggered Mother's memories and she began to remember more and more about her childhood and her times that were spent at home in the Teslin area. Participation in research and scholarly work is recognized as a valid method towards healing from the mission school traumas that were experienced by Mother and transmitted to her offspring, who did not even go to Mission School.

#### *4.8 Celebrating the Collective Knowledge of the People*

Early on in my research journey I was advised by Teslin Tlingit elders to allow time for dialogue and discourse amongst ourselves before responding to public policy questions on matters that pertain to the inland Tlingit from Teslin, Yukon. This dissertation reflects the dialogue and discourse on Mother's clan origin stories. My dissertation brings forward literature and elders knowledges, coastal clan knowledge, inland clan knowledge, individual knowledge,

and intuitive knowledge on the topic of who are Mother's ancestors and how are they connected to Angoon, Alaska. Many of the oral histories that were shared were also found in the Dauenhauers' collections, Swanton's collections, de Laguna's collections, Goldschmidt and Haas' collections. All of these oral histories have formed the foundation to my new understanding of who we are as inland Tlingit. The next steps, which fall beyond the scope of this research, will focus on elder-determined processes for allowing private dialogue and discussion time among the Tlingit elders with respect to the results of this dissertation.



## **Chapter 5 Making Historical, Social, and Personal Connections**

As an insider to the Tlingit culture I am experiencing my “culture” and my research through the exploration of inland Tlingit constructs. As an insider I practice culture, and I am examining what I do, as my cultural attitudes and values come first (Kawagley, 1995, p. 142).

This chapter is a celebration of the work I have been doing and how I use the knowledge that I have been given. The results of my search for Mother’s clan stories have influenced my schooling, how I understand my roles, and how I participate at potlatches, my work, and my food trade enterprise. The surface parts of our inland Tlingit culture are seen in our five inland Tlingit totems, which are located at the Teslin Tlingit Heritage Center. Other expressions of tangible culture are seen in our inland Tlingit dances, regalia, drums, art, and so on. Non tangible culture is expressed through our Tlingit names, the memory of our clan crests, culture value of regalia and more. Tlingit culture is expressed in themes (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1994, preface xii).

### *5.1 Connecting with Tlingit Culture*

My research theme is about finding my way by finding mother’s Tlingit identity. This in turn has led to an understanding of who I am as an insider and as an outsider to Tlingit culture. The idea of being Tlingit is very strong; it is part of who we are. I was at a burial tea recently and at the onset of the tea there was a declaration that this is not a cultural event. We said opening prayer and the food was served immediately. This is unusual as at Tlingit burials in Teslin we wait for the gravediggers and flower girls to get back from the gravesite before the tea service begins. After a while the non-cultural tea began to be more cultural, in that, upon the workers’ arrival they were given choice foods and the opposite clan elders and guests were served and

were given leftover and unopened foods like lard, flour, and cookies from the tea party. As Tlingit people we fell into characteristic Tlingit behaviors.

While we were at this burial tea I began thinking about burials I had witnessed in Alaska. There were two sets of ceremonies – the church service and the cultural ceremony – and both of these events were very important. There are many historical images of inland Tlingit people with clan shirts, blankets, and handkerchiefs. These items no longer appear at our clan parties; we no longer bring our tangible and sacred clan objects forward at our formal inland Teslin Tlingit parties. Expressions of inland Tlingit culture can be viewed in terms of Teslin Tlingit governance and there are formal and informal ways that inland Tlingit people discuss all things Tlingit.

In thinking about our Tlingit culture and this idea of culture running deep I see in my mind's eye the mighty mushroom. The mushroom has deep roots underground. When we see the mushroom on the surface of the earth what we see is the fruit of the underground mushroom “tree”. I no longer think “beads and bannock” of visual culture; now I see the fruits and value-laden expressions of deep culture. When I think about inland Tlingit culture I know that our culture went underground, as our cultural practices were outlawed, and inland Tlingit people were impacted by the building of the Alaska Highway. To me this is where our most sacred inland Tlingit knowledge lies, with our culture bearers and elders (underground, so to speak, as this information is not easily accessed by Internet or books).

In the past there have been some problems in documenting indigenous knowledge, in that, the tellers were quoted as individual cultural representatives. From indigenous knowledge perspectives, our histories belong to the collective. Some of these stories were collected and were published and did not receive validation from other inland Tlingit communities. That is, these stories did not go through a process of community edits and agreement on what was being

presented. These publications cannot be withdrawn and outside researchers and current college and high school teachers continue to cite this information. While the publications contain some very important interviews and provide a glimpse into early indigenous life – readers must be given the tools to critique the processes towards the learning and teaching of indigenous knowledge.

These tools can be gleaned from local, national, and international conventions on understanding and implementing issues of intellectual and cultural property rights of indigenous peoples. There is a need to ensure that indigenous works earmarked for study are current, and most especially, that our school resources include publications written by indigenous peoples.

Problems in documenting indigenous knowledge include the exclusion of indigenous processes and methodologies in cultural revitalization schemes (Barsh, 2006). That is, in the 1980s it was not uncommon for our small communities to host ethnographers, anthropologists, archeologists, and others in our small and indigenous communities. Many early writings about indigenous peoples from here form the foundation of much of our research in the Yukon. The early ethnographic works record Yukon indigenous people and their memories about clans, spirituality, plants, land, animals, origins, and medicines.

Many Tlingit knowledge bearers have stated that our knowledge should not be written down, but more importantly writing down indigenous knowledge deviates from indigenous methodology. Indigenous peoples need to be at the center of research frameworks, and indigenous peoples need to be acknowledged and named in research work and reports. Remaining nameless allows space for inaccurate “perceptions of aboriginality to the... imagination” (Berman, 2004). Furthermore, many indigenous scholars and the results of this research have shown how indigenous knowledges may be altered due to visual

misunderstandings, editing<sup>34</sup> and/or recording issues. Social scientists of today are aware of these early misunderstandings and have incorporated into their own research processes Tlingit validation processes. Goldschmidt and Haas, Thornton, Dauenhauer, Taff and many more include many elder and knowledge bearer testimonies while recognizing clan jurisdiction over songs, stories and more.

Today, there are many places where researchers can retrieve indigenous-led information.

## *5.2 Learning as a Knowledge Specialization*

Mother always wanted to attend university. In the photograph below we are enrolling to test out the master apprentice program on our own. We had enrolled in four Tlingit language proficiency classes for a semester at the University of Alaska Southeast.



**Figure 5.1: Mother and I Enrolling for Tlingit Language Classes at UAS.**

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<sup>34</sup> See Shorty, E. (n.d.), for an example of story editing which changed the way the story actually happened. For instance, the story has Mother coming home every day after school and this did not occur for Mother.

While in Juneau we made many connections with the community by attending as many cultural activities as we could. Mother's message at the onset was, "I am looking for my family" and I am here to "learn Tlingit". Using the tools of the language classes Mother continues to teach me Tlingit, and mastering inland Tlingit sounds and dialect. I hear stories about her family, her experiences at mission school, coming home, and her life among Father's people. Mother holds Father's family in high regard and respect, as she is treated with high regard and respect.

### *5.3 Bringing Out Our Ancestors*

At Matilda Gamble's ku.éex', 2012 in Sitka, Alaska I began to fully realize the importance of knowing our clan's stories. I wondered where our inland Tlingit clan objects, blankets, and hats are. At the ku.éex' the Raven clan leaders brought out their clan hats, blankets, daggers, and other sacred clan objects, as did the Wolf clan leaders. Balance was sought between the clans through speech, and presence, and between the tangible and non-tangible aspects of Tlingit culture. Clan aat.oow brings forward our ancestors, but in the case of the Kookhitta, the idea of clan aat.oow will have to suffice. As well, some Teslin elders say that aat.oow is not Teslin.





**Figure 5.2: Mother is Recognized at a Yanyeidí Ku.éex' 2013 in Juneau Alaska.**

Recently Mother was gifted with a Russian Squirrel Robe at Adelaide Jacob's ku.éex', August 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup>, 2014 in Juneau, Alaska. Mother is dancing her blanket and as her offspring we are her clan members. As Kookhittaán we are thanking the Yanyeidí clan for including the inland Kookhittaán. We are one; there is no border; we are Tlingit. Mother and I are still seeking Mother's maternal family connection. We started this journey knowing that Mother's second great grandmother is buried on Douglas Island, Alaska. We wound up finding Mother's father's family connections. Mother's father passed away when she was two and a half. Mother's father's family lives in Klukwan and Henry Stevens, Mother's father's brother came from Taku.

#### *5.4 Searching for Our Identity Through Indigenous Led Curriculum Schemes*

In 2009, a group of Yukon First Nation educators came forward to dream about indigenous education reform. This policy table was funded by the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation. In these sessions some Yukon First Nation education officials were “dreaming” plans for indigenous education reform. The dream included community-driven learning and teaching systems which respond to the learning and teaching needs of indigenous learners and teachers. As Aboriginal peoples we need to focus on processes of educational engagement at the public education level, and, more importantly, we need to articulate for ourselves principles about our engagement at the First Nation level.

Yukon First Nation educators and elders who were at the Carcross Tagish Policy Sessions (Carcross Tagish First Nation, 2009) stated that indigenous education must:

1. Perpetuate self-determination by responding to the needs of First Nations.<sup>35</sup> First Nation education must perpetuate indigenous self-determination by bringing forward our personal stories and contributions to the land and territories around us (Smith, 1999). As determined by this dissertation, this point is important because much First Nation history has been lost or is buried beneath western stories about the discovery of the Yukon (Thornton, 2004). This is largely due to how “for most of us” the printed word is upheld over oration (Dauenhauer, N., & Dauenhauer, R., 1987, pp. 6-8). As well, many indigenous people are not connected to their stories on account of their parents going to residential school (Wilbert Smarch, personal interview, May 20, 2011). As we explore and develop ideas about indigenous education here in the

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<sup>35</sup> For ideas about indigenous worldview: stories, songs, governance, economics and on...speak with knowledge bearers. It is advised that you do a little research first – but only to inform yourself and not the knowledge bearer.

Yukon we need to re-articulate our intellectual property rights over indigenous policies, learning, and culture spaces, and occupy these spaces with our own indigenous learning definitions and processes (Assembly of Alaska Native Educators, 2000).

Indigenous education must also:

2. Perpetuate fluency in indigenous languages. Many indigenous scholars (Johnson, 2011; Leonard, 2007) and researchers (Wilson, 2009; Kawagley, 1995; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1987) have effectively shown how our indigenous languages are closely tied to our indigenous worldviews. That is, our Aboriginal languages are verb-oriented while the English language is noun-orientated. Many speakers state that you cannot translate some ideas and thoughts and concepts from the Aboriginal language into English (Alice Taff, personal communication on what speakers say on transcribing Tlingit to English, 2009). It is said that our indigenous ideas, which are presented in our languages, are beautiful and complete and the English language cannot capture this beauty feeling<sup>36</sup>. Our First Nation governments need to find ways within the First Nation government to ensure that concepts articulated in our Aboriginal languages are carefully rearticulated for daily use at government offices and work sites. As people we need to ensure that Aboriginal languages are spoken daily at the school, at the store, around town, and at home. As educators we need to understand the power of words and concepts like “education reform” because words

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<sup>36</sup> In many of our cultures we talk about intuition and beliefs in beings outside ourselves – our current curriculum does not formalize learning around these sacred events.

like “reform” trigger residential school memories, many of which are tragic and overwhelmingly sad.

To continue, Yukon indigenous educators stated that indigenous education must:

3. Generate intergenerational learning and teaching methodologies. First Nations can develop curriculum and grow ideas, which include family and clan histories. These will be clan, nation and gender-based histories and contributions. First Nation proceedings need to be in our Aboriginal languages and should be on video and audio-recorded for future use. First Nation teaching methods: need to include land-based learning and blended teaching methods; must utilize knowledge bearers and elders; need to have flexible learning hours; and need to integrate the latest teaching and learning technologies. As First Nation educators we need to state that our dream education system does not only request that schools reform their current classrooms but that our dream education system perpetuates “a side-by-side system” (Elder Roddy Blackjack, personal communication, 1999). In a not so distant past I had thought that elders wanted us to build education systems that emulated the western system (Shorty, 2004). Now I believe the elders want us to spend as much time reforming our own system of indigenous learning and teaching as we do on fixing up the public education system.
4. The fourth and final point is that indigenous education must support learning about local First Nation historical contributions. In my public school years Yukon school curriculum typically showed that the history of the Yukon began with the Yukon Gold Rush. While new authors are writing and acknowledging First Nation contributions many of our school resources are written by non-indigenous peoples.

At the First Nation level we need to continue to ensure that we coordinate, facilitate, and publish our local stories and family histories. To date there are many elementary schools here in the Yukon with incredible first nation developed curriculum and curriculum resources (Champagne and Aishihik First Nation, Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation). Historical projects needs to connect indigenous learners with their ancestors. It is important to remember that to many indigenous scholars, the act of relegating indigenous peoples way of life to the past is pejorative – indigenous peoples continue to contribute to history making via the Yukon land claims, pipeline, mining, tourism, and so on. Given the history of contact and colonization over indigenous peoples we require time alone to dialogue and sort out cultural knowledge processes and information. This time for processing is due to the need for agreement about stories, story origins, property rights, editing, publishing, validation processes, and so on.

### *5.5 Does Education Have to Reform?*

In the western framework education builds upon citizenship and enhances social advantage. In the Yukon and other parts of the world, indigenous peoples want to lead indigenous education. As with “Coolangatta” Yukon’s aboriginal people no longer want an “education process that has been constructed through and measured by non-indigenous standards, values and philosophies”. As we dream forward we need an education system that helps indigenous students find their identity through indigenous-led curriculum schemes and more.

### *5.6 Summary and Conclusion: Who Am I – The Story Today*

At the onset of the PhD journey I dreamt that I was on the inside of a whalebone house structure. There are four whalebone posts surrounding me. I am at the place where the heart of the whale is. I am lighting the fire. When I awoke from the dream I asked the virtual Tlingit community what my dream might have meant and here is what was returned:

She is building upon what was once a living whale; they are big animals and have great knowledge because they travel the world in the great oceans and seen many things humans will never see. She is now taken on the responsibility of giving new life to the bones by standing within the ribcage where all the vital organs once were. She is now the beating heart of the bones. Her heart is now replacing the whale heart. The number 4 signifies the 4 corners of a house. That is all. (No author).

Teslin Tlingit elders and culture bearers remain deeply concerned about inland Tlingit culture loss (I. Freeman, personal communication, February 24, 2012). Contact and colonization almost wiped Mother's clan origin stories from our family's memories. My research is reflective and representational of my people's collective thoughts about my mother's clan because the Tlingit process of knowing is oral and precise, and is practiced amongst many of the Tlingit elders and Tlingit culture bearers. It is my hope that Teslin Tlingit elders and culture bearers will continue to record all the stories from all the clans, so that we may know ourselves better by connecting to our deep roots. In looking forward we must continue to articulate our heritage, education, and social justice chapters in our Teslin Tlingit Self-Government Agreements.

This project articulates Tlingit research processes, which are also seen in our *ku.éex'* (Memorial Parties). The elder's thoughts on the revitalization of our knowledge about culture

and languages are clear – as Tlingits our stories have been known as long as there have been Tlingit. Despite my initial feeling of angst and distress, due to not knowing about our past, I have learned to be patient. My mother's clan stories perpetuate Tlingit worldviews, indigenous knowledge systems, indigenous property and processes, and indigenous ways of teaching, living and learning. It is hoped that my research will encourage other indigenous scholars to research their own family and clan origins, their stories, and their heroes and heroines, who have contributed to the development and enhancement of the Yukon as we know it today.

There is pride in knowing that our ancestors stood up for us and understood that what was happening was unjust. Today, in the world the big issue is indigenous identity. Who are we as indigenous peoples, and why does it matter, and to whom? The impact of knowing the story of my mother's clan has influenced how I define traditional knowledge at local, national, and intergovernmental tables. I feel that I no longer need to bang my fists on the table to be heard; I am Tlingit and it does not matter who acknowledges this or who does not acknowledge this. Tlingit knowledge has survived mission schools, the Alaska Highway and policies which outlawed all things Tlingit. This story the story of my mother's clan has unlocked previously closed doors as most inland Tlingit people did not want to discuss Gladys Johnston's claims made in 1985 (Jack et al., 1985) instead there was more focus on Gladys's claims to be Kookhittaana (Appendix P). Local indigenous peoples do need to lead traditional knowledge discussions at the home front to ensure traditional knowledge is understood and defined, and implemented at the local level first, and then at the public policy levels. Knowing that Tlingit have been here in the Teslin area since the time of the floods, circa 1300s does impact how the history of Teslin is told.

This process of documenting local knowledges is done to ensure that indigenous peoples continue to lead and define what is indigenous and what is important to them. This story has affirmed my right to travel across the border to engage in Tlingit activities, ceremonies, and trade amongst Tlingit peoples. There is strength in a side-by-side model of living. These two ways of seeing<sup>37</sup> (western and Tlingit) bring to focus the story of the inland Tlingit in a more whole and real way – especially to me. I know who I am. I know where I come from. I know where I belong. When I found the petroglyph images as presented in de Laguna’s book I began to realize that our petroglyphs are our Tlingit books. These images record our history, as do our clan shirts and our face paints. Just like the written word, where certain shapes and letters and words put together make up meaning; that is what our petroglyphs, face paints and clan shirt images mean to us. Our past, our future – who we are (Appendix R). Just after Cyril George told Mother the Deisheetaan migration story in Tlingit, 13 whales came in through Juneau and the house that we were staying at is right above the place that the whales swam by. When Mother heard about this she immediately started talking about her Dakl’aweidi aunties, “they are coming to check up on us”. Research has found that whales sing ancestral songs and so when this story was told, in a language that the whales could remember, they came to affirm what they had heard. Mother had found home. Sheet’ká Kwáan, Aangóon Kwáan, Deisleen Kwáan, Dzántik’i Héeni, Gunalchéesh!

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<sup>37</sup> Indigenous researcher and scholar, Dr. Jo-ann Archibald introduces the idea of two-eyed seeing (2008). Coyote foolishly loses his eyes and Mouse and Buffalo lends Coyote one of their eyes. Coyote stumbles about with mismatched eyes (pp. 8-10).





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## **Appendix A**

### **The Teslin Graveyard (Smarch, 1986)**

The Teslin graveyard and how Fox Point got its name: here is a legendary account of how the place for the graveyard was chosen as told and recorded by Mrs. Virginia Smarch. In the olden days the people used to migrate from place to place at different times of the year in search of food. As it happened this one group has spent the winter hunting and trapping at the northwestern end of the lake and because they were running low on supplies were returning to the cache of salmon near Nisutlin Bay.

One old woman was warned in a dream that something drastic would happen if they went back for the salmon. She begged the people to try to get by on the food they had but they wouldn't listen to her. So they packed their belongings on moose hide toboggans and set out down the lake pulling the toboggans behind them because they had no horses or dogs for packing in those days. All this time the old woman was telling them, "There will be signs; the first will be a lynx, the second a wolverine, and the last one a fox. When we have seen all three signs we will all perish." But the people paid no attention to the old lady and kept moving down the lake. They came by Deadman Creek and saw a lynx and the old woman begged. "Let's turn back," but no one listened to her. When they came to Eight Mile they saw a wolverine and again the woman pleaded, "Let's go back or we will all die." But still they pressed on. Then they came a few miles further and saw a fox running across the lake at the place that has since been named Fox Creek and Fox Point.

Still the old woman begged and pleaded to turn back and they paid no attention. Now this old woman told her granddaughter, "If anything should happen to me, hang onto my belt; never let it go and it will bring you to safety."

So the people came to the bay and camped for the night amongst the big trees along the shore. In the morning someone went down to the waterhole in the ice and saw strange people strung out one behind the other at Rocky Point. He quickly ran back to camp to warn his people that the Telegraph Indians were coming to attack. In no time at all the Tlingits were surrounded and killed by the Telegraph Indians.

All except the grandchild of the old woman, who ran off through the bushes and came out on the opposite side of the point. She called out to the spirits four times and then a north wind came up erasing all her tracks. The Telegraph Indians followed her tracks to the very spot but then lost them and the girl escaped to tell the sad tale to other Tlingit Indians.

This is the end of this story but the beginning of another so may it suffice to say that it all happened about 100 years ago and human bones have been unearthed while digging graves at the cemetery.

## **Appendix B**

### **The Tahltan-Tlingit War: An Oral History**

(Ball, G., 1986, pp. 260-264)An oral history of an Indian war on the Northwest Coast

Published in Alaska Journal 1986

Sent by e-mail to me from Beverly Semsmoen 2009

This is what I know. I don't know if I know the whole story, but it is what I know." With these words, Eva Carlick began the story of the last, and perhaps the only, war between the Tahltans and the Taku Tlingits so I could record it on tape. I had heard the story several times before from Eva and also from Emma Brown, an elderly Tahltan woman. Their accounts differ in only one key detail. Eva is a Tlingit, and she says it was the Tahltans who started the war, while Emma believes the Tlingit's were the instigators. The war between the Tlingit of the Taku and Nakina River valleys and the Tahltan, whose territory includes the Stikine River watershed and the upper watersheds of the Skeena, Taku, Nass, and Kechika rivers, lasted at least ten years. Some accounts say it lasted twenty years. Because the war began around the time the Tlingits first acquired muskets and just before the Tahltans did. It is probable that the hostilities started sometime after the Russian-American Company first moved into Southeastern Alaska in the early nineteenth century.

The war was touched off by a bizarre accident involving a newly wedded Tahltan woman and her Tlingit husband. At the time of the accident the young newlyweds were camped near Tatsmini Lake, which is due east over the Coast Range from present-day

Juneau. According to Eva, the husband was sharpening a stick to poke through the head of a salmon they were about to roast. Like all newlyweds, they teased each other and “played around” a lot. The wife sneaked up behind the husband and touched him suddenly. He swung around with the stick in his hand. “He hit that girl right in the skull,” Eva said. “She fell back. Right there she died. The stick went right through her skull. And I guess the bad luck comes right there.”

The way Emma Brown tells it, the Tlingit husband was tickling his wife, who was trying to roast meat on a stick. She playfully swung the stick at him and accidentally ran it through his stomach.

No matter who killed whom, the victim’s family would not accept payment, and therefore both families were equally culpable. Because Eva provided much more detail, and since she is a Tlingit who has lived most of her long life with the Tahltans, her story is less likely to be construed as biased. For these reasons, the following story is, for the most part, Eva’s version of the Tlingit-Tahltan War.

Two Tlingit men went to the Tahltan fishing camp of Sheslay with the bad news of the death of the young woman, but the Tahltans did not believe the killing was an accident so they refused to take a payment for the death of the woman. Eva says the Tahltans told the Tlingits: “We will kill half of your people.”

Embittered by the young woman’s death, Eva says, the Tahltans went to war against the Tlingits. “Tlingits try a long time to straighten them out but they wouldn’t do it.” She said. “Tahltans want to kill people... Tahltan start first. If they see a Tlingit at any placed – just kill ‘em... they killed too many, pretty soon Tlingit get mad.”

The Tlingits made up a war party of about twenty soldiers, all dressed with vests and visors made of skins of the backs of large billy goats. The dried skins were so hard and thick that a knife could not pierce them. Their weapons were spears. Eva believes they also carried muskets, but they were not used in the attack.

The Tlingits attacked the sleeping Tahltan village of Sheslay at night. It was a brutal fight. *Everyone they met they do this – hit – hit – hit. They kill ‘em. In one house after another ... and one woman got a baby about two days old. She put the sticks and brushes on top of herself to hide and nurse that baby. Afterwards they heard the baby cry. That’s the last one they kill.*

The Tlingits took four prisoners home with them. One of them was a Tahltan slave, a woman named Akee’see; another, named Koosh’teen, was a middle-aged man who was so small that he looked like a young boy to a stranger. The other two were boys. The captors tied their hands.

They can’t do nothing. Make ‘em walk ahead. They take ‘em right to Taku River – right to old home... they take them across the river. The slave tipped the boat while they were crossing the river. She said, “I’m not going to slave for no Tlingit.” Everyone got saved but her – she got drowned. The others swim right to the shore. So the Tlingit got nothing. The others ran away, come back to Tahltan.

The Tahltans attacked the Tlingits on the Taku after the massacre at Sheslay, but again they were badly defeated. It was only when the Tahltans finally acquired muskets – Eva said it was a year later – that they evened the score.

And then they got Tlingit, same as Sheslay – more than that, they say. I think they got guns that time – powder, muskets. That’s when they cleaned half of Tlingit. Just as



much as they killed Tahltan, Tahltan kill them too. Ten years that war going on, they say...

Eva said it was the Tlingit war Chief Ston'quat' who decided it was time the warring came to an end. He told his people:

Too many people die for nothing – just for one woman and one man, that many people die. What for? We don't fight for our country. We just fight for somebody's death. That's a shame. We can't visit each other – trade with each other. That's enough. Let's go up to Tahltan and we ask for peace. Let's quit this war business.

Fifteen Tlingits accompanied Ston'quat' on the peace mission. They travelled to Tahltan territory in the winter, “about Christmas month”, when the Tahltan families were scattered “out in the bushes” trapping fur. The cautious peace missionaries wanted to encounter only a few Tahltans at a time. When the Tlingits arrived at Sheslay they found it deserted. No one had re-established a home there since the massacre. Ten miles farther on, at Salmon Creek, they found Nah'zay'ta and his crippled wife. “Too long we're fighting,” Ston'quat' said. “Never have good time together. There's no reason we have this war. Just for two crazy young people.”

Nah'zay'ta's nephew agreed to spread the word and gather up the Tahltan people. Days passed slowly at Salmon Creek. Although Nah'zay'ta explained that many Tahltans had to come great distances, Ston'quat' waited for them impatiently. It was a trying time for both men. Neither one was sure this other had truly peaceful intentions.

Finally, the Tahltan soldiers, who far outnumbered the fifteen Tlingits, finally arrived at the Salmon Creek fishing camp. The situation was tense. The young Tahltan warriors wanted to kill the Tlingits, who had hidden in the bush as the Tahltans approached.

Nah'zay'ta called the Tlingits out of the bush. All of the Tlingits and about ten Tahltan head men went into Nah'zay'ta's fish house. The rest of the Tahltans stayed outside. One Tlingit and one Tahltan each brought into the house a sack full of pebbles. Both sides used the pebbles as counters; each pebble represented a person who was killed in the long war. Not only did both sides enumerate their dead, but they determined together who killed whom. That was the only way just payment could be made to the relatives of each of the deceased. As Eva said, "That's Indian law. Indian war, that's the way they settle."

It took a long time, but the accounts were finally squared. The settlement was sealed with a ritual.

So Ston'quat' says to Nah'zay'ta, "Let's come close together, like a grizzly bear." Grizzly bear when he fights and little while after, he licks the blood off his friend's face where he had bitten him. "Let's do that." (That means, "Let's settle this war"). "Let's do like this, grandpa," Ston'quat' said. Nah'zay'ta says, "Okay!" That's the way the war settled in Salmon Creek.

To ensure that the peace would be a lasting one, Ston'quat' suggested that the Tahltans and the Tlingits make "Koo'wa Kahn". This means an exchange for a year of a beloved son of the most important headman of each tribe. The former enemies agreed to this exchange.

Although Eva Carlick is a Tlingit, she maintains that the Tahltans outdid the Tlingits in the treatment of the guests. The Tlingits treated their Tahltan guest "like a king," but the Tahltans absolutely spoiled their Tlingit guest. He could not do anything for himself. According to Emma

Brown, this fellow was not even allowed to wash his face or comb his hair. During his year with the Tahltans, they took him to the far corners of their extensive territory. When the Tahltans returned him to the Tlingits at the big gathering on the Taku the following year, he was dressed in such finery that according to Eva, he looked “just like a man, they say, that boy.”

The Tlingit-Tahltan celebration in the Tlingit River village lasted for days and days. The sons returned to their families, and there was much singing, dancing and feasting. Each group made death payments in goods and also in slaves. The Tlingits gave the Tahltans women slaves who originally came from the southern coast.

From that time, the Tlingits and the Tahltans remained on good terms with one another. As Tlingit Eva succinctly put it to me, “No more trouble.” She pointed to her Tahltan husband, Tom Carlick and said, “That’s why I’m married to this man.”

### *Sources*

This account of the war between the Taku Tlingits and the Tahltans is not the first to be published. In 1909, James Teit, one of the two early ethnographers of the Tahltans, published a version he had heard while guiding big game hunters in the Cassiar. It appeared in the *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 22, No. 85. June-September, pp. 3-7. In his 1911 study entitled, *The Tahltan Indian*, G. T. Emmons mentioned that the Tlingits and the Tahltans had warred in the past. According to William Thorman, an Anglican Church deacon who spent most of the years from 1901 to 1956 living among the Tahltan people, and who could speak their language, the Tahltans had a school of women storytellers who learned to repeat verbatim the history of their respective clans. Only graduates of this school were allowed to tell the history to those outside of the school, and there was only one storyteller for each clan at any one time. Thorman states in

his papers, which are located at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia that this school died out during the two smallpox epidemics of the early 1800s. Surviving women could repeat the stories with some authority, albeit lacking perfection.

My informants, Eva Carlick, a Tlingit now in her 80s, who came as a young lady to live with the Tahltans, and Emma Brown, a Tahltan who was born in about 1883, are inheritors of this ancient oral history school.

The captions which accompany the images in the article are provided here as these captions may provide historical clues to another research project in the not too distant future.

Sketch map of Southeastern Alaska and Northwestern British Columbia, showing the possible aboriginal boundaries of the Taku Tlingit and Tahltan territories; the names of modern towns are in parentheses (Ball, 1986, p. 263).

Eva Carlick is a part Russian Tlingit who has lived most of her life with the Tahltans. The author recorded Eva Carrick's version of the Tlingit-Tahltan war (Ball, 1986, p. 264).

Emma Brown was about 97 when this picture was taken at Telegraph Creek in the early 1980's. Emma is a Tahltan and the way she remembers the story of the war, it was started by the Tlingits (Ball, 1986, p. 264).



## Appendix C

### Tales of Schwatki

From Harold Jacobs [hjacobsccthita.org](mailto:hjacobs@ccthita.org)

Sent: Mon 7/16/2012 11:38 AM

My father was Mark Jacobs, Jr., whose father was Mark Sr., who was the son of Emma Johnston. Emma's mother was Anna Cane-teen, who was married to a man of the *Dagistinaa* Clan of Klukwan, whose name was *T'eik. Keinteen* had a sister named *Yeitkhin.aawti*, whose husband was *Yindayáank*. The latter two raised Emma (*S'eiltín*).

*Yindayáank* was a guide. One story about him tells of his snow shoe-prints being on one side of a ravine and appearing on the other side, looking as though he had jumped across the ravine. What he had done was walking across a sapling tree that snapped back up when he stepped off of it!

He led Lt. Schwatka on his expedition to map the boundary. THIS is the Tlingit version, of course, and it is said that "where Lt. Schwatka's legs gave out is where the boundary was set" and that the boundary actually should've been much further Inland, (also bearing in mind that that is THEIR boundary.)

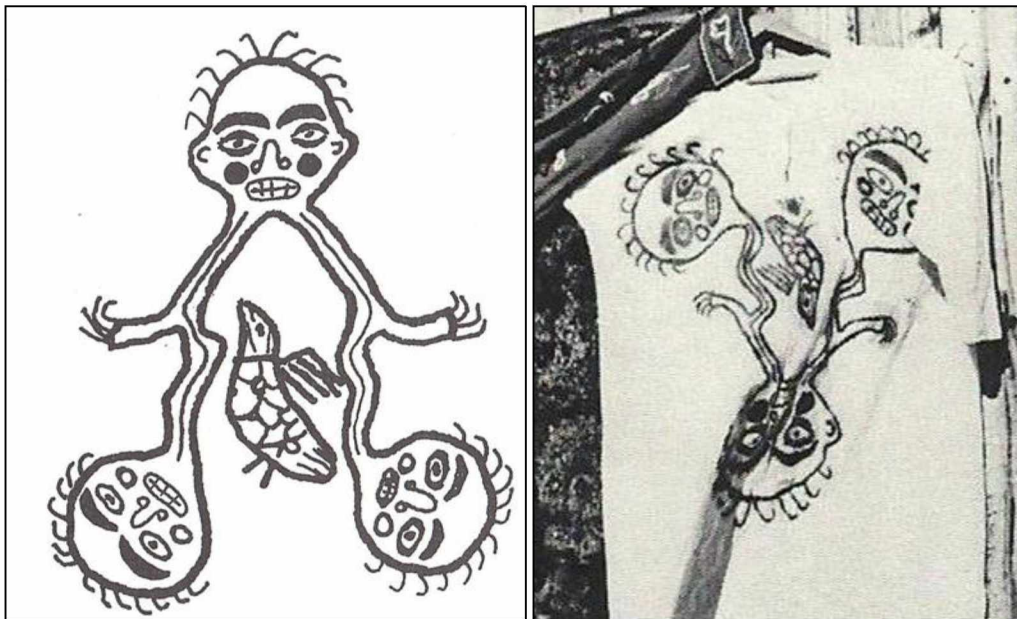
*Yindayáank* was promised a large payment for his work but was never paid. In Tlingit fashion, other payment was made by the clan of *Yindayáank* "taking his name as payment." The name Schwatka was "Tlingit-ized" to *Swáatk'i*, which became one of the names of *Yindayáank*. They also created the name *Sóonjee koosá* or "Slender Soldier"

because Lt. Swatka was a thin man. Another name is *Shaakwéinsi* or “Mountain Marker” referring to the boundary expedition.

## Appendix D

### Front of Kookhitta Clan Shirt McClellan

As best as I can see McClellan (1975) does not include the image of the mosquito. McClellan (1975, p. 341) describes this image as three spirits (?) and crow (?) and these are McClellan's question marks. On page 474 McClellan (1975) states that "on the front of the same shirt are three joined human heads which encircle a salmon, are known as Ick'a taxt. Apparently they [the heads] represent spirits associated with the "salmon hole of the Ick'Itan".



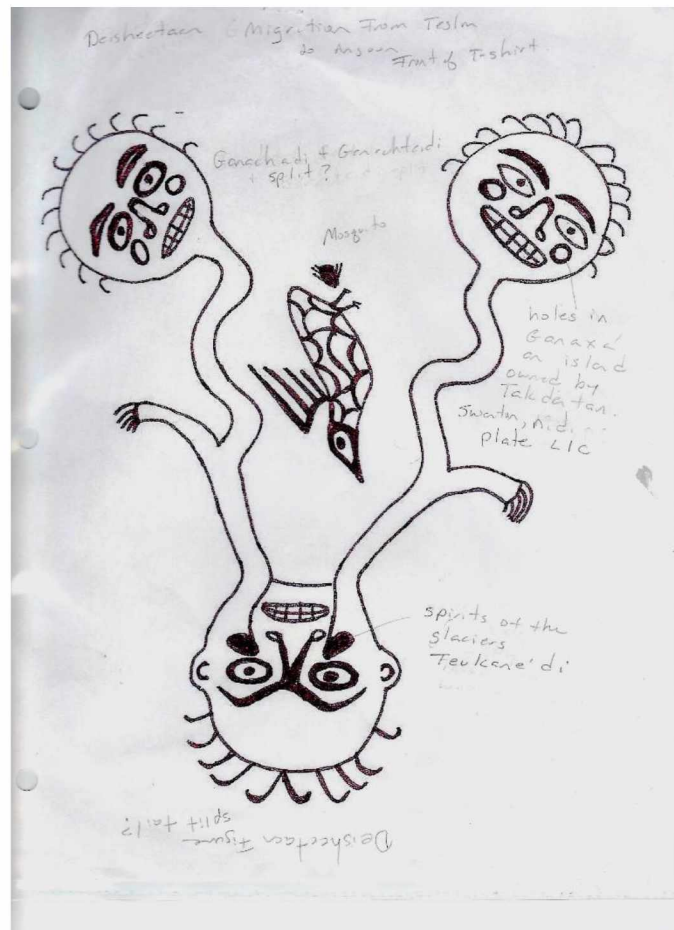
**Figure D-1: McClellan (1975, p. 341) and McClellan Unpublished Photograph, May 1951.**

This three heads photograph courtesy of Ukjese van Kampen (2012, p. 197). Ukjese surmises that when you turn the image upside down you can see what may be a body (p. 197). Note that



McClellan's chapter motif (p. 341) is drawn with one head on top while the 1950 photograph shows two heads on top (as seen below).

Ukjese van Kampen (2012, p. 198) redrew the image in Figure D-2 for his dissertation and published McClellan's 1951 photograph in his dissertation. The notes on the image are mine, and relate to piecing together the mosquito story which is associated to a Deisheetaan migration story. I am just beginning to look at face paints and Tlingit ways of recording a clan split.

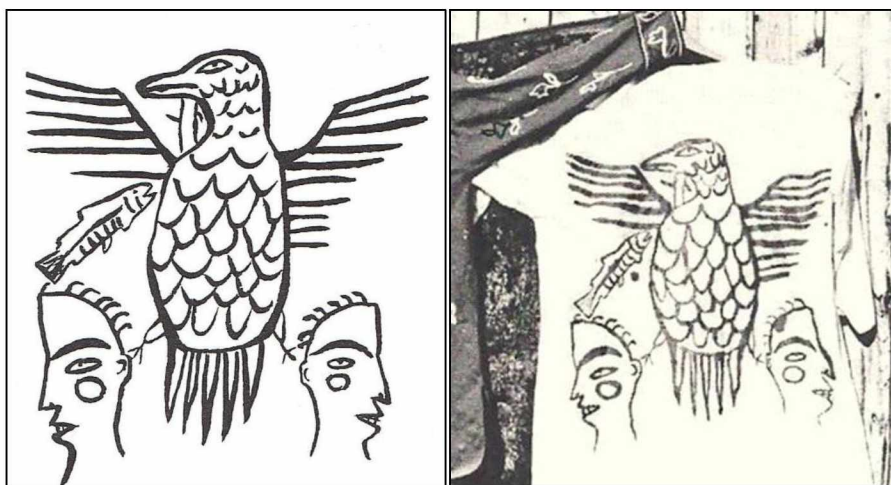


**Figure D-2: Van Kampen's Redrawing; Notes on Image are the Authors'.**

## Appendix E

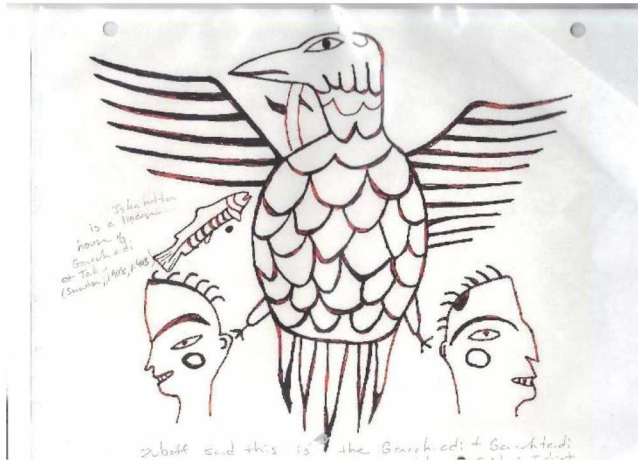
### Back of Kookhittaán Clan Leader Dance Shirt (McClellan, 1975)

At Teslin the chief of the Kookhittaán is the keeper of a white cloth dance shirt, on the back of which is a green painting of Crow with the two human heads. These heads are said to be those of slaves (McClellan, 1975, p. 474).



**Figure E-1: McClellan 1975 Chapter Motif as Redrawn from her 1951 Photograph.**

Note that McClellan (1975, p. 325) has dropped the black pit (Ishkahittaán – Salmon Hole) near the salmon. Below is van Kampen's (2012, p. 197) redraw of McClellan's 1951 photograph of the back of the Kookhittaán clan dance shirt.



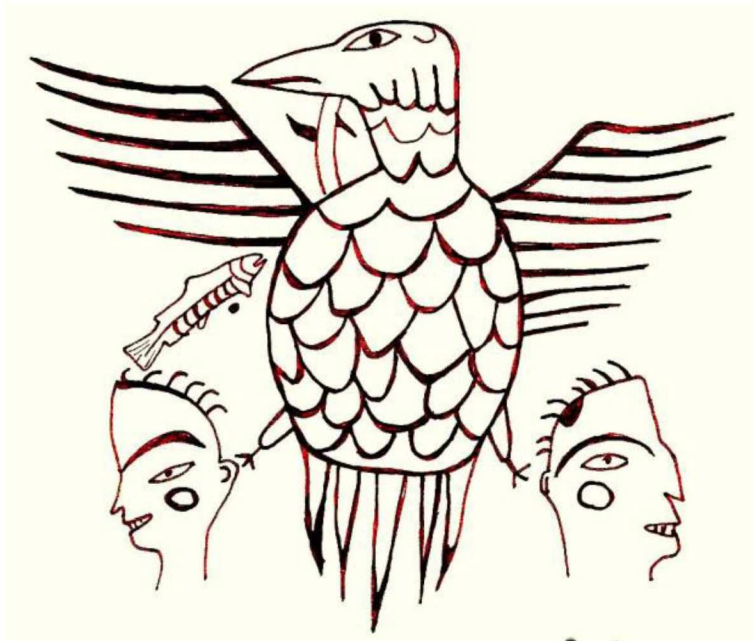
**Figure E-2: Tlingit Record of Clan Split Between the Gaanaxádi and the Gaanaxteidi (Alan Zuboff, Personal Communication, November 17, 2013).**

Van Kampen (personal communication November 18, 2014), indicates that this photo is at the Canadian Museum of History (J765 and J766). Photo credit is given to McClellan on page 129 of van Kampen's 2012 dissertation. For the Tlingit meaning of the two headed image see Appendix F (Alan Zuboff).

## Appendix F

### Alan Zuboff: Raven with Two Heads

Alan Zuboff indicates that this is an image depicting the *Gaanax̱ádi* and *Gaanax̱teidí* clan split (November 17, 2013, Angoon, Alaska).



**Figure F-1: Tlingit History is Painted on a Clan Dance Shirt (McClellan, 1951).**

This is a drawing (van Kampen, 2012, p. 197) of the painted design on a dance shirt of the *Kookhittaaan* sib of the crow moiety inland Tlingit. McClellan (1975) describes this image as Crow holding severed heads of two slaves and McClellan does say that the *Kookhittaaan* clan leader is the keeper of this shirt (p. 474).

Mother thinks this dance shirt may have been held by old Billy Johnston, who was the clan leader of the *Kookhittaaan* in Teslin, circa 1950s. McClellan writes that the clan dance shirt

is in the possession of Freddie Johnston (Vincent Lafond, personal communication, November 19, 2014).

## **Appendix G**

### **Reason for Deisheetaan and Gaanax̓ádi Split (Garfield, 1947)**

There are now about fifty adult members of the De'cita'n in Angoon, including the Basket Bay group. It has twice as many adults as the largest of the other six clans represented. They have replaced the Ganaxe.'di who are said to have been the first Ravens in Chatham Strait. The Ganaxe.'di were in White Water Bay when the T'lene'di arrived. All of Kootznahoo Inlet including the Angoon town site belonged to them as did Sitkoh Bay across Chatham Strait (See also Swanton, 1909, p. 227. Here called the Beaver of Killisnoo). They had a number of camps and named houses though there was apparently no large town in the area. One of their houses, Ye'Ihit, "Raven House," is regarded as the original ancestral house of the Raven people.

According to legendary history secured by Dr. Swanton the Ganaxe.'di came originally from Prince of Wales and Kuiu island (Swanton, 1908, p. 408). Angoon informants did not know where the Ganaxe.'di originated but were unanimous in the opinion that they came from the south. The presence of Ganaxe.'di in the Tongass, Taku, Chilkat and Yakutat divisions, as listed by Dr. Swanton, was affirmed by Angoon people.

As a result of internal trouble the Ganaxe.'di moved out of the Angoon area leaving their rights of use and occupancy to the De'cita'n, exclusive of the Basket Bay group. At the time of the trouble the Ganaxe.'di had two houses in Angoon, Ye'Ihit and one on the point called Ganaxcanuwu', "Ganax Women's Fort" or the Fort of the Women of Ganax. Their section of the village included a part of the present school grounds and

the creek beyond the point. It was at the extreme southern limits of both the past and present town boundaries. The circumstances of the removal were related as follows:

A woman of the Wuckuta'n clan was married to a man of the Ganax Women's Fort House. She was in love with a young De'cita'n man. When the family went to camp at Tag.ani'cu on Kootznahoo Inlet, just above Angoon, she hid him in a box which she would entrust to no one else. One day when they were moving to a new camp she was busy and her husband's nephew picked up the box to carry it down to the canoe. It was heavy and unwieldy and he tilted it as he tried to lift it onto his shoulder. The young man inside grunted. The nephew, now suspicious, carried the box to a sharp rock on the beach where he dropped it, breaking it open. When the young man fell out the nephew killed him.

Bitter quarreling followed the young man's murder and the husband and other Ganaxe.'di took their families and went up to Taku. Before they left they went over to Sitkoh Bay and carved a copper shield on a rock as a record of the wealth they were turning over to the De'cita'n. They also left their house name Ye'l, "Raven" to the De'cita'n.

It is certain that no people who called themselves Ganaxe.'di were left in the Angoon area, but it is probable that a few women married to Wolf phratry men stayed and their children became De'cita'n (Garfield, 1947, pp. 440 - 441).

## **Appendix H**

### **Split Between the Gaanax̓ádi and the Decitan (de Laguna, 1960)**

At Angoon the Decitan apparently formed a subservient and low class subdivision of the Ganaxadi. Eventually a split between the two was precipitated by the infidelity of a woman, a common theme in Tlingit stories. The various versions of this event are in essential agreement, though each has details not found in the others. We can assume that the wronged husband was a Ganaxadi man of the Qanax Women's Fort House at Angoon, the unfaithful wife was Wuckitan, and the lover was Decitan. The latter was discovered and slain at the settlement on Stillwater Anchorage, when the family were preparing to move to Sullivan Point. Garfield's informant (Garfield, 1947, p. 441) credits the discovery and killing to the husband's nephew, and one of our informants ascribes this to the husband himself. In any case, the Ganaxadi left the area, surrendering their rights to the Decitan; in memory of this they carved the picture of a "copper" at Sitkoh to symbolize the wealth they were giving away (p. 133). See #5 petroglyphs at Sitkoh Bay (de Laguna, 1960, p. 76).





## **Appendix I**

### **Jake Jackson Deisheetaan**

(McClellan, 2010, p. 482).

When I met him in 1948, Jake was the ranking man of the Deisheetaan clan in Teslin. He was also a recognized shaman. As he explains in his version of the Flood Story, his mother died when he was about a year and a half old, and he was raised by Skwaan, the son of Tleina.

Evidently he was born in the interior, and during most of his life he travelled on the rivers and lakes near the Yukon River headwaters. As a boy, he made trading trips down the Taku River and he also lived and worked on the coast. He said that he first went to Juneau when he was fourteen years old and that he stayed until he was about twenty. After arriving in Juneau, Jake worked in the mines “two years steady”. He remembered Juneau at that time as a tent city only. “There used to be good strikes. Money was just like sand that time!”

Jake also explained that his grandfather also “used to stay in Juneau”, but I did not learn what his name was or whether it was his paternal or maternal grandfather. This grandfather, he said, would just go to Juneau for trading purposes and would only stay for a month or so at any given time. Once his grandfather bought a young boy as a slave and he treated the boy as his son, referring to him by the proper kin term. The boy was purchased from a member of the Ishkeetaan clan, part of the Crow moiety.

Jake Jackson, the Flood March 13, 1951 and March 14, 1951, Teslin (McClellan., 2010, pp. 487 – 495)

This story is about over ten thousand years ago. This story is about the time our father's grandfather stayed in the country and we are supposed to own it — this country.

One thing I am sorry about myself — these people, white people, ask us how long we have stayed in this country, but we have stayed here all our lives. We have stayed here since before I can remember my grandpas, ten or fifteen back grandpas. That's why I think we own this country.

Now I know this story. I am going to give you this story as a present just the way I know it. There are no mistakes in this story, dear friend. I am sorry that I am [going to have] to tell you about the way we have a hard time to save ourselves. Now I am going to start the story.

When first the ocean starts to come to this country, my father's grandpas had already been staying here before. They had no [metal] axes, only stone axes, little mattocks. And that's what he uses to chop timber that is two feet across. With a stone axe he chops those big trees about 80 feet long, so he can make a raft. He makes a raft of the whole length [of the trees]. And that's the one I'm going to tell you about. When he starts to cut the timber he tells his wife to split spruce roots and to braid them like a rope — for an anchor rope. When she has finished that, he tells his wife again “Get willow bark, and take the stiff top skin off it, the black [part]. Peel it. And from just the inside make a rope

— from braiding that inside part.” And when he finishes, he puts the raft in the water.

When he gets it in the water, all the other people come to look at it.

When somebody comes, he begs the person to build a raft too. No, they never do it just like that old man! Everybody says that he’s crazy. “How can the ocean come into this country? Crow made it! [the country].

I don’t think anything can happen” That’s what the people said to him When they finish the raft, [the man and his wife] go to dry meat, dry fish, berries, everything. Before the man finishes the raft he has worked four years on it. The man’s name was Yéil S’íx’ (Tl., crow, dish). The woman’s name was Kux yEk (Animal Mother).

After he finishes working for four years, he makes a kind of box for a fireplace. He fits logs together to make an eight-foot square. After he puts it together, he puts rocks on the bottom of the box. And when he fits them all together in the bottom, then he puts mud on top of the rocks and on the sides of the box where the heat of the fire will hit. He puts mud all around the box. And when he finishes he makes a woodpile. He fills up the raft with any kind of wood. Then he puts holes through the cracks in the logs and puts up logs on each side. And then he puts a ridge pole. Then he puts spruce bark on the four sides to make walls. After he finishes it, he names it loonée hit (Tl., bark house). After he names the house, he calls his wife. “Ax yéet tláa (Tl., my son’s mother)” he says to his wife, “I am going to try to have you stay longer. This ocean is going to come for us. And I am going to hold you, ax yéet tláa, when the ocean wants to take you from me. I am going to try to hold myself too, and I am going to hold you. If I don’t see you, I am going into the water myself too, the time I lose you. So I’m wishing we can save ourselves when the ocean is over the country.

I think we are going to save ourselves safely the way I have fixed this *yAn xat tla cAt'*, “safe holding place” (Tl.). You do the same way that I tell you. Don’t think that you are going to be left! I am going to save you I think, ax yéet tláa. Pretty soon now you are going to see it. It is going to be different, the world. It is going to be pretty soon now. You are going to see the world changing any time now. And you keep a-going yourself too. Do anything you think of for when the water is going to come around you. You are going to [be able to] go out again. So you try the best you can to finish quick. Any time now I think it’s going to begin, ax yéet tláa. I am pretty sure that the world is going to be different. You keep watching any time when the bigger things are different in this world from what you have known before.

You watch when there is a big wind. You know what a strong wind was like before — it’s going to be different! It’s going to be stronger. Or rain. There’s going to be strong rain. You count if anything happens eight times. And it’s going to be stronger each time. If anything is different and stronger eight times, on the ninth time the ocean is going to start to come.” When he got that far he stopped his work and told his wife, “ax yéet tláa, there’s one thing, a thing that is going to save us, that I never got, ax yéet tláa, a pole to push this raft. I forgot it!”

When he gets it, he shakes hands with his wife and says to her, “I’m trying to save you, ax yéet tláa, yet how did I think I was going to move this raft if I never got this [pole] before? Now I’ll try to save you. I was crazy before, ax yéet tláa, when I told you I was going to save you. I wish you had pointed to what you thought was going to save us, ax yéet tláa! How do you think I was going to save you, ax yéet tláa? [You should have said] ‘How do you think you are going to make it on to the top of the Three Aces? You

don't have a pole, but all the same you are going to save your son's mother? Now I think you are going to save your son's mother!" "Yéil S'íx' says. "Now I finish, ax yéet tláa. I finish. I am just going to listen for how it's going to start. It will happen any time now, my son's mother. We are going to feel something pretty soon now. It's pretty close!" Now that is the time it starts. Well, afterwards, this woman watches everything around the raft. She thinks she herself is the best to watch around her. She thinks her husband never watches well. And when it starts at first, it starts to rain and be windy — both rain and wind. And they get in their bark house.

Well, they stay in there. And any time he asks his wife, "Are you hungry, ax yéet tláa?" When she answers, "Yes!", he puts a little fire into the center of the firebox. He cooks something for his wife. "Don't sorrow, my son's mother, I am going to die with you. And don't leave me! If you should die, wish that I can follow you. But the thing that I made to save you, I think that I made it good, my son's mother."

It rains and rains. It rains for about four moons steady. And there was wind. After eight moons there started to be water all around. The first thing [that happens] the man gets up in the morning, and he sees it. He goes outside and he hollers to his wife, "My son's mother, I see something different! Water — it's a foot high around us. It rises up to a foot!" In the evening they feel it rise — the raft.

In the morning, they already float. The raft is swimming. It moves off. They put out their anchor. It's a big rock, you know; it's long. Well, he is feeling bad, but all the same he asks his wife if she can eat something. The woman says, "No, do you think I'm hungry, the way I see different waters?" And Yéil S'íx' says, "Don't, my son's mother, I'm your Crow. I'm going to die with you. I'm just like your [other] half. I have a good

flag [clan crest] myself. Don't be sorry when I die. I am going to work to try to save you all the same, so don't be sorry.

But one thing — whenever I die, don't miss me. Watch me when I am dying. Hold my hand so you are not going to miss me. You are going to live after me. I tell you truly I want to save you, so you can tell the story, the way I worked on this raft before the ocean started [to rise]. Tell everybody you see that there was already this raft.” It's moving. When it starts to move, maybe hundreds of people run up to where the man made the raft. They all run away when they see the water starting to rise. Everybody is going to get out in the high hills some place.

And they start to float up after they had already been anchored for four days. The raft moves now. And they try to use their poles to row. They see the Three Aces. They have poles, you know. And the anchor is hanging in the water behind the raft, so when the wind blows, it doesn't float away too quickly and go too much off course. The man tries to get over to the Three Aces. There are four peaks in the Aces. He tries for the middle [sic] one. But he can't make it. He hits the last one. A south wind is blowing. When he gets there he feels the anchor beginning to drag. Well, he watches. He gets off onto the mountain when they first get on to the mountain. And he drags the anchor to a good place. The man and his wife drag their anchor to a good place between the rocks and fix it up good. They lever it good. And he puts another one out. There are two anchors on the raft so that no wind can move it sideways. So they make it straight over to hit that point, driving the raft into the south wind.

They anchor it up that way — one anchor ahead of them and the other anchor dragging on the north side. They tie the anchors. When they finish working with the

anchors, the man shakes hands with his wife and says, “I’ve saved you, my son’s mother. I’ve saved you!” And after that, the water was all around them, half way up the mountain, you know. It was as if they were staying [up in the mountains] in autumn, you know. They see things like loose sticks in the water, and different things swimming — bear, moose, caribou, sheep — things like that.

And after that — when they float up higher — well the raft is there just like ground, you know. Anything that sees it from a long ways off swims to it. There was one thing, the grizzly bear —he was just like a dog. When he grabs on to the raft, he won’t let go at all. He wants to get on top of the raft when he grabs on to it. They hit his hands where he holds it. They never kill any game at all because they don’t want to have too much of a load on the raft. When the water stays at one level he says to his wife, “Well, my son’s mother, I think the ocean is high enough. It stays in one place. Wait one more day and I am going to kill something for you, my son’s mother.”

After the water stays in one place for four days, the first thing coming to the raft is a sheep. When he sees it coming he tells his wife, “Now, my son’s mother, I have something to kill for you. A sheep is coming. I’m going to kill it for you, my son’s mother.” Well, the sheep is coming onto the raft. He has a string. He snares [the sheep] with a babishe string. He ties the snare up on cross poles and puts it under the raft. The sheep put his neck in the snare and dies quickly.

After he snares the sheep, he fixes it and cuts it up. He cooks something for his wife. When he has already cooked and fed his wife, he tells her, “Now this mountain, my son’s mother, they are going to call this mountain ‘One Sheep Mountain’ — *tIEnakt tawE* (Tl.). When you meet any of your cousins, your friends, your relations, you tell them



good how I call it. Well, after that he said, “Now other things are going to go on. I don’t know just where this is going to happen. It is going to be after this. I don’t know when after this.

Fire — a big fire — is going to happen. But I never hear [that this will happen] this time.” And then the water, it drops off quite bit. Now when it drops, they have no way to take out their anchors. The raft starts falling over.

So then they just loosen out the anchor rope on one side and they push the raft out. They keep on doing that way. Skwaan tells me [this story]. I stayed with him when my mother died. He raised me. My mother died when I was one and a half years old. Skwaan’s father was Tleina. He was my father’s uncle - doo kák (Tl., mother’s brother). Skwaan’s father knew Yéil S’íx’, about how he made the raft in his time, and how he put his anchors on the Three Aces.

[He found] the right place where he used to see it. They left their anchors. Maybe he knew the right place and that’s why he went looking for it. Well, after this everybody says the same way. They have all seen the anchor on the point [peak] of the Three Aces. That’s Yéil S’íx’s anchor...shuyéinah is “anchor.” Now this story has no mistakes. It’s just the way I used to hear it from the old people who saw the man named Yéil S’íx’ after the ocean flooded.

That’s why I know so much. If there are any mistakes, they are not very bad. Because I know it. I am going to give you this story. And you just look at my story, mister. I do not feel bashful about your looking at it. That is the way we have lived in this country. We own this country, mister. We are not ashamed about the way we own it. This time when any white people see us and ask us how long we have been in this country and

what we own — this is how we own it — just to the end of our lives. Good-bye, mister.  
My name is Jake Jackson. I am 75 years old. I do not think I have made mistakes in this story. Good-bye, dear friend, this story is not going to die for you. I make you a present of it. Good-bye.



## **Appendix J**

### **Angoon Clan List**

(Maxine Thompson shared the following list with me on November 17, 2013).

Xoots

Deisheetaan – Raven/ Beaver

Takdeintaan – Raven/ Sea pigeon

Dakl'aweidi – Killer Whale

Kukweidi – Raven/Beaver/Sockeye

Teikweidee – Brown Bear

Naukcheneidee – Raven/Beaver

Lukaax.adi – Sockeye

Luk nax.adi – Coho

Kiks.adi – Frog

Kaagwaantann – Wolf

Leineidi – Dog Salmon

Aan Xaak hitaan – Dog Salmon

Shangu keidi – Thunderbird

Tagwon neidi – Raven/Dog Salmon/Worm

Ganax.adi – Raven

Saagweidee – Killer Whale

Wosh Keeton – Shark



## Appendix K

### Angoon Clan House Map

(Maxine Thompson, personal communication, November 17, 2013).

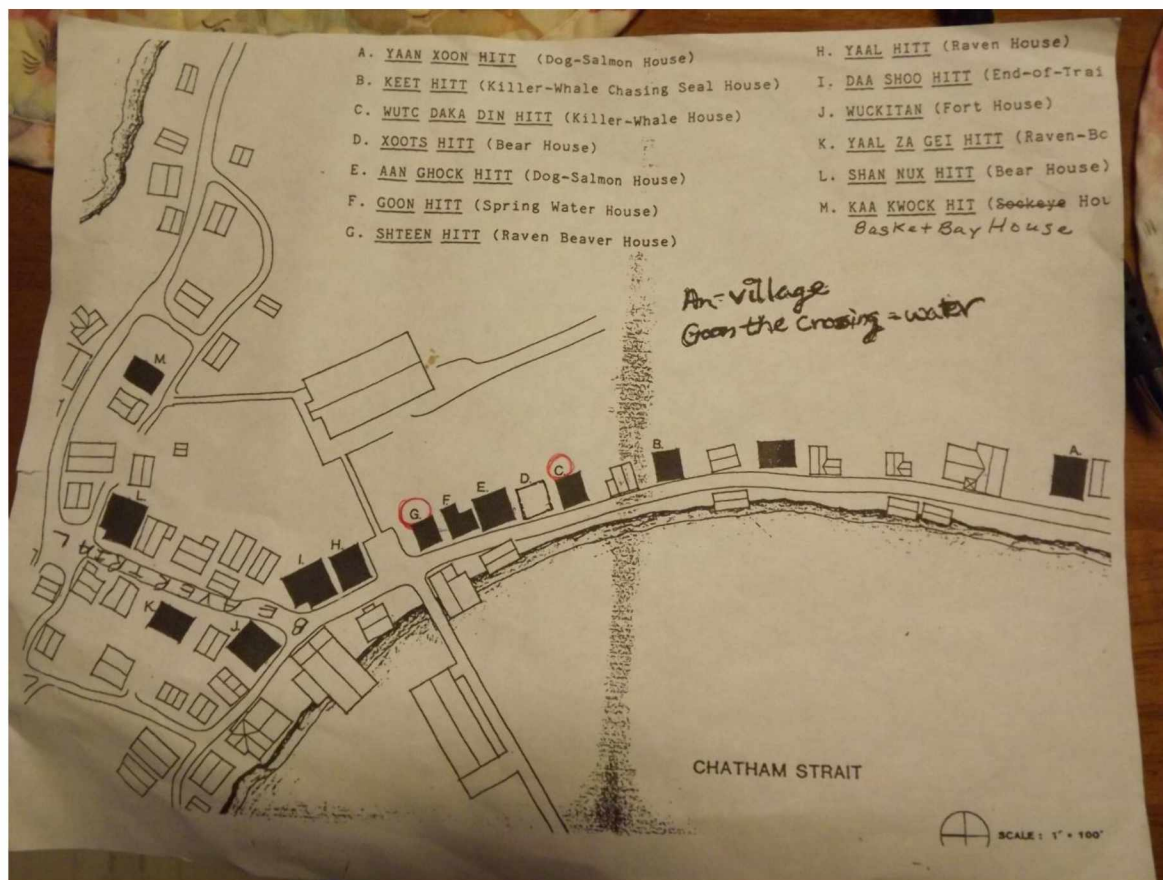


Figure K-1: Angoon Clan Houses 2013.



## Appendix L

### Robert Zuboff on Dakl'aweidi Migration

Basket Bay Line 84 to Line 121 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1987, pp. 67-69)

in the beginning,  
many say  
we migrated here  
through the south,  
the south.  
And, you know, there are many  
who migrated down the Stikine River,  
down the Stikine River. 90  
The story of my fathers is always told,  
of when they migrated down the Stikine.  
At one place, there,  
in the river,  
the river flowed under a glacier.  
This is where they tied a raft together.  
They put the elderly women on it.

R. Zuboff, "Basket Bay" 69  
One's name was Awastí and the other Koowasikx,  
these elderly women.  
They are the first ones who were pushed under 100  
the glacier.  
Having drifted under it and through to the  
other side,  
they started singing.  
Floating under the glacier  
gave them their song.  
Based on this  
a raft was made.  
Some went on it.  
Under it, under the glacier, they floated,  
down the river.  
But many of them 110  
were afraid  
to float under the glacier. Glacier  
Travels  
This is why they started over it, under is  
some started over the glacier. Chilkat  
These are the ones who came down the Chilkat,  
the relatives of my fathers,  
the Dakl'aweidi.  
They became the Chilkats.  
The name that came from those  
who went over the glacier  
is Sit'ká indeed, 120  
those who came down through Chilkat,  
are named Sit'ká.

Figure L-1: Stikine River - Glacier Story.





## Appendix M

### Robert Zuboff Deisheetaan Migration

Basket Bay Line 122 to 136 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1987, p.69)

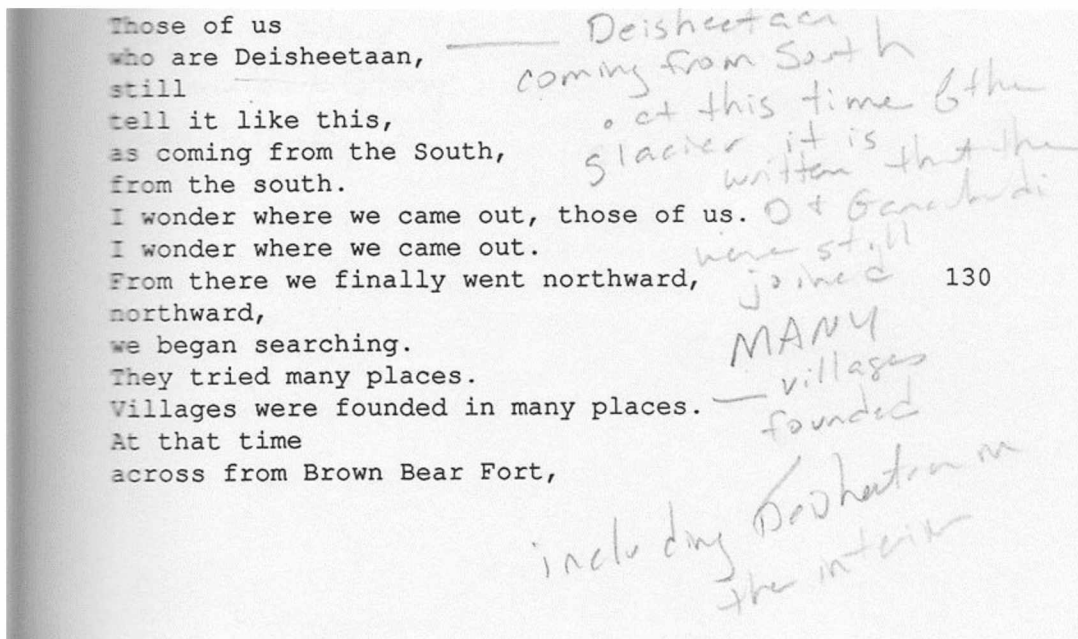


Figure M-1: Teslin – Glacier Story.



## Appendix N

### Petroglyphs

(From de Laguna, 1960, p. 76)

Petroglyph#5 - copper shields were recorded in the rocks by the Gaanaxádi to symbolize the wealth they were leaving behind (Garfield, 1947, p. 441).

Petroglyph #6 the oval shape is discussed by Swanton (n.d., Plate LI, c) the circular shapes on the cheeks represent holes in Gaanaxáa, an island used by the T'akdeintaan.

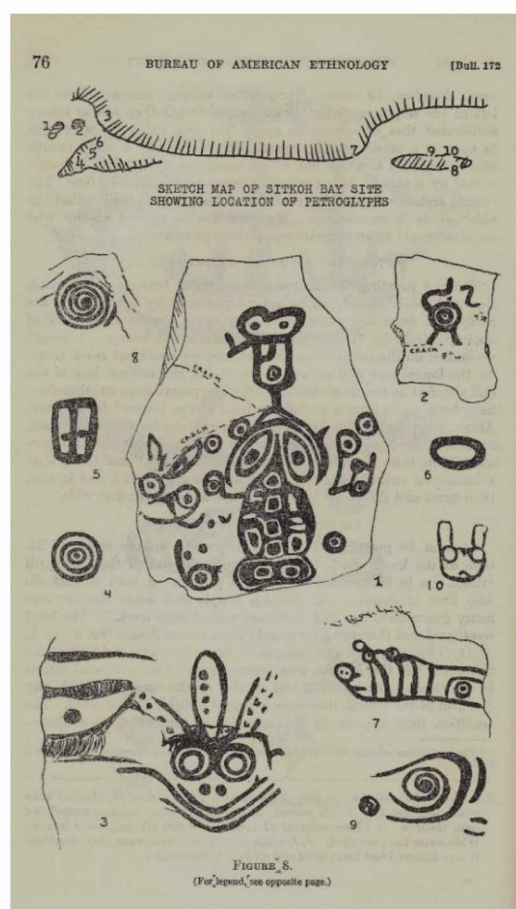


Figure N-1: Petroglyphs Recorded by de Laguna 1960, p76.



## Appendix O

### **Notes resulting from an Indigenous Women's Circle Tlingit Clan Conference (Producer), (2013).**

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC30ufxpypFuVDzf8E1rEzjw>

The powers of English constructs are:

- in the language (Leonard, 2007);
- with respect to the weight of words because sovereign states have laws, and interest groups have protocols, and Tlingit people have laws on how and when to speak, and western constructs usually refer to these Tlingit laws on speaking as protocols;
- in our public institutions, which were founded on principals of a superior race (Eastmure, 2013) and oppression of indigenous peoples (Battiste, 2008; Brayboy, 2006); and,
- in our own indigenous policies (Archibald, 2008; Barnhardt, 2005; Kawagley, 1995).

Despite current legislation and human rights conventions on indigenous peoples (Smith, 1999) we are at the breaking point of saving our culture and our languages (Taff, Twitchell, Katzeek, Dauenhauer, Belarde, Austin, and Olson, personal communication). It is increasingly important that we, as indigenous women, ensure that our culture lives on in perpetuity by discussing and agreeing on community-driven processes regarding our identities, languages, youth and risk, and how our way of life is recorded in history books, and textbooks. Other concerns in the room included the environment and the salmon crisis in the Yukon (where numbers of salmon spawning are increasingly lower and lower). The people in the room were concerned with the Tlingit culture, gender roles, honesty, and fairness. There was not enough

time to go into depth, so we just skimmed the surface regarding issues that people in the room were concerned about. The overall message is that we have LOST OUR CULTURE WAYS.

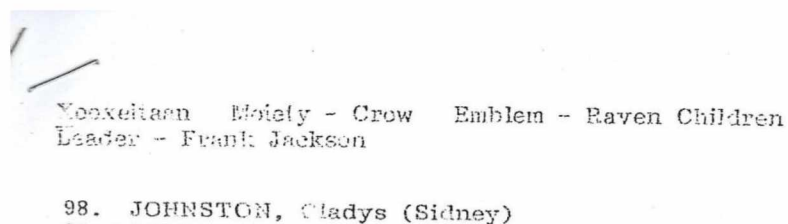
## Appendix P

### Gladys Johnston on Kookhittaan Clan List

N.a. (n.d.). Xooxeitaan Moiety- Crow Emblem – Raven Children Leader – Frank Jackson.

Copy in possession of Bonner and Bessie Cooley.

This is a clan list from Teslin circa 1993. This clan list names Gladys Johnston as a member of the Kookhittaan Clan (Raven Children) from Teslin, Yukon. This is significant because the Gaanaxádi clan are not acknowledged while the Kookhittaan clan are. This is a copy of a Xerox which is in possession of Bonner and Bessie Cooley from Teslin, Yukon.



Xooxeitaan Moiety - Crow Emblem - Raven Children  
Leader - Frank Jackson

98. JOHNSTON, Gladys (Sidney)

**Figure P-1: Number 98 Gladys Johnston.**